

TOLD THROUGH THE AGES

FROISSART'S
CHRONICLES



Presented by
Eastbourne Education Authority
to

Percy Moore
2nd in Std V

July 1931

F.W. Naish

Head Master

ST. ANDREW'S
BOYS' SCHOOL.

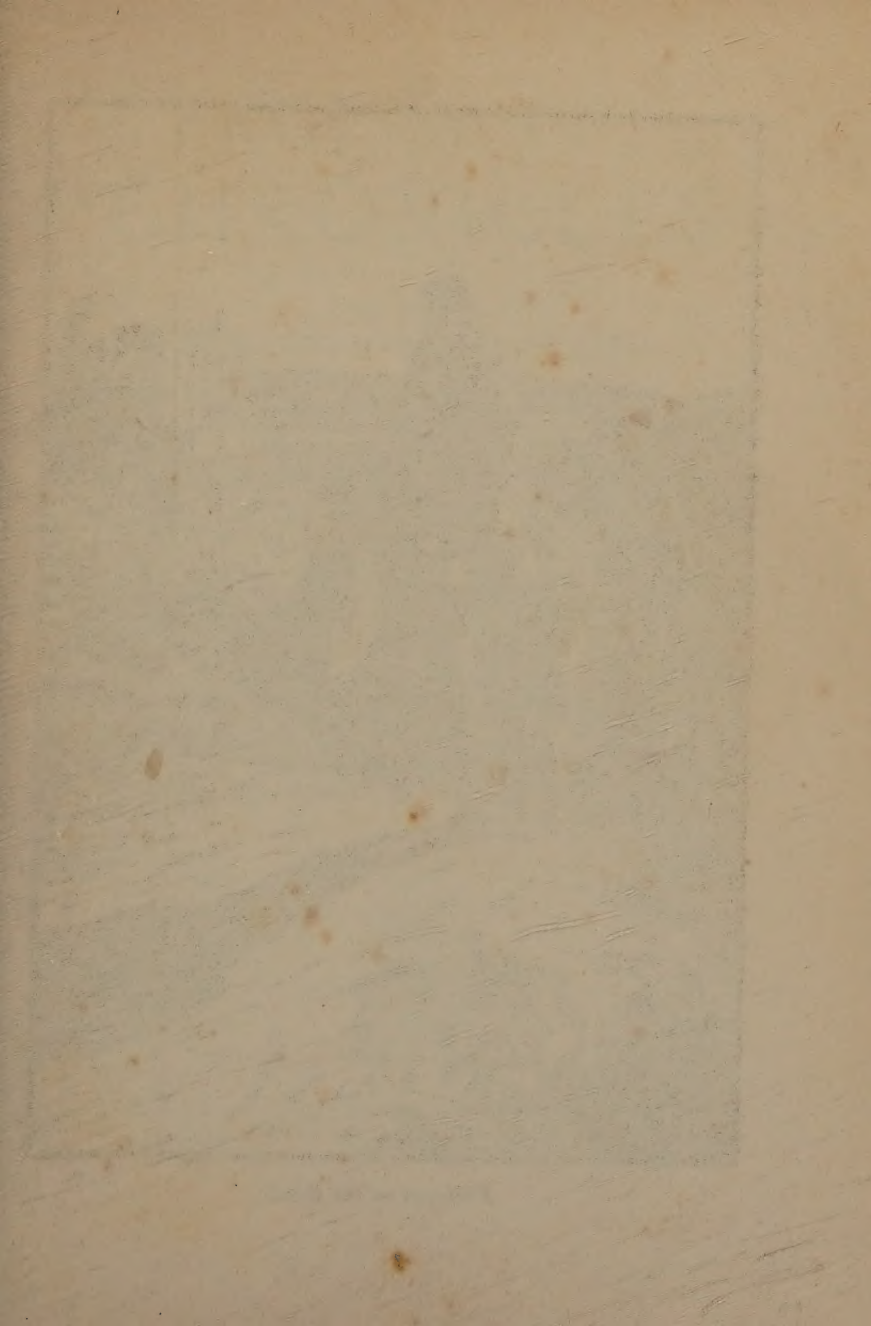
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<i>"TOLD THROUGH THE AGES"</i>		
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FROISSART'S CHRONICLES

TOLD THROUGH THE AGES

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Froissart on the Road

FROISSART'S CHRONICLES

SELECTED
FROM LORD BERNERS' TRANSLATION

BY

MADALEN EDGAR M.A.

AUTHOR OF

"STORIES FROM THE EARTHLY PARADISE" ETC.



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A.D.

- 1327 Accession of Edward III
- 1328 Marriage of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault
- 1329 Death of Robert Bruce
- 1338 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France
- 1340 Battle of Sluys
- 1346 Battle of Crécy
- 1346 Invasion of England by Scots
- „ Battle of Nevill's Cross
- 1347 Surrender of Calais
- 1355 Renewal of War with France
- 1356 Battle of Poitiers
- 1360 Treaty of Brétigny
- 1369 Renewal of War with France
- „ Death of Queen Philippa
- 1376 Death of the Black Prince
- 1377 Death of Edward III
- „ Accession of Richard II
- 1381 The Peasants' Revolt
- 1388 Battle of Otterburn
- 1398 Banishment of Earl of Derby (Bolingbroke)
- 1399 Return of Bolingbroke
- „ Abdication of Richard II
- „ Accession of Henry IV (Bolingbroke)
- 1400 Death of Richard II

The Boys' Froissart

Introduction

TO the intent that the honourable and noble adventures of feats of arms, done and achieved by the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered and put in perpetual memory, whereby the prewe and hardy may have ensample to encourage them in their well-doing, I, Sir John Froissart, will treat and record an history of great louage and praise." Thus, as we have it in Lord Berners' translation, the old historian begins his prologue to the "Chronicles of France, England and other places adjoining."

It is the history of his own times that Froissart sets himself to write, and he explains that he has gathered his material at first hand in various countries and courts from knights, squires and others who had taken part in the adventures or witnessed the memorable affairs which he records.

For the history of the earlier years of which the Chronicles treat, from 1326-1356, the year of the battle of Poitiers, when Froissart had only reached the age of eighteen, he had to rely upon another historian's work: in the earliest version of his first book of the

prewe, brave.

louage, laudation.

Chronicles (that which forms the text of Lord Berners' translation) he draws freely upon the writings of his fellow-countryman of Hainault, "the right reverend, discreet and sage master John le Bel, some time canon in St Lambert's of Liège, who with good heart and due diligence did his true devoir in writing this noble chronicle, and did continue it all his life's days, in following the truth as near as he might, to his great charge and cost in seeking to have the perfect knowledge thereof."

To Jean le Bel are due such famous passages in the early part of the Chronicles as the dying charge of Robert the Bruce to his knight, James Douglas, and the story of the surrender of Calais. A soldier no less than a writer and a man of great wealth and estate, Jean le Bel was amongst the Hainaulters who accompanied young Edward III. of England in his expedition against the Scots in 1327, and Froissart reproduces his graphic description of this campaign. Here is his account of the enemy:—

"These Scottish men are right hardy and sore travailling in harness and in wars; for when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the trandals and laggars of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor charets for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war that they will pass in

trandals, camp followers.

charets, carriages.

the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine ; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe the beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through ; therefore they carry with them none other purveyance but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal ; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do."

As to the life of John Froissart, priest, poet and historian, he was born at Valenciennes in Hainault, in the year 1338 it is believed. In 1361 he journeyed to the English court, where Queen Philippa, ever gracious to her fellow-countrymen, showed him great favour, accepted " gladly and sweetly " the present of his first work, a rhyming account of the battle of Poitiers, and found him a place in her service as a secretary.

Then followed five years of great value and interest for the young historian. From the soldiers who had followed King Edward in his wars he heard stirring accounts of the battles they had fought, and in the light of all they told him he could revise the history of Jean le Bel. Encouraged by Queen Philippa he set himself to continue that work, for Jean le Bel's history had come to an end in 1361 ; and so the Chronicles

panel, saddle-cloth.

were started, henceforward the main occupation and the delight of his life.

In the course of these years in England Froissart travelled from place to place, amassing material for his history, his expenses borne by the queen. She even sent him to the Scottish court with letters of recommendation, and in the company of King David he traversed a great part of Scotland.

A visit to Bordeaux, where the Black Prince had established his court in 1366, was followed by a tour to Italy in the suite of the young English prince, the Duke of Clarence, on his way to his ill-fated marriage at Milan. From Milan, Froissart continued his travels through Italy, when in 1369 the sad news reached him that his benefactress, the good Queen Philippa, was dead.

Resourceless for a time he returned to Hainault, for without the protection of some wealthy and powerful patron in these days no writer of small means could hope to succeed. Happily, however, others in high places soon befriended Froissart. First appears a nephew of Queen Philippa, Robert of Namur, to whom Froissart dedicates the first book of the Chronicles, completed about 1373. "A young lusty knight" when he returned from warring in the Holy Land, he joined the King of England "of his own good mind" at the siege of Calais and did much service to the English cause. From him doubtless Froissart heard many a tale of the gallant feats of arms done by the English king and "such as were with him in his battles and happy fortunate adventures," so that he might well write of them in his introduction, "In all battles that they were in, most commonly they had ever the renown, both by land and by sea, according to the truth. They in all their deeds were so valiant that they ought to be

reputed as sovereigns in all chivalry." But in justice to the valour on the other side, he continues, it must be noted, "Also in France in that time there were found many good knights, strong and well expert in feats of arms; for the realm of France was not so discomfited but that always there were people sufficient to fight withal, and the King Philip of Valois was a right hardy and a valiant knight, and also King John his son, Charles the king of Bohemia . . . and divers other. . . . All such as in cruel battles have been seen abiding to the discomfiture, sufficiently doing their devoir, may well be reputed for valiant and hardy, whatsoever was their adventure."

A growing intimacy with Wenceslas, Duke of Brabant, son of the blind king of Bohemia, who lost his life at Crécy, fighting for France, and with Guy de Châtillon, afterwards Earl of Blois, alienated Froissart from Robert of Namur. His next books are dedicated to the Earl of Blois, and hearing accounts now from the French side, he re-wrote the first book of the Chronicles for this new patron. This second redaction never gained any popularity, however, compared with the first, which for centuries has been the established favourite.

In 1373 Froissart, who had long been a churchman, was appointed curé of Lestinnes-les-Monts by Guy de Châtillon, and ten years later his patron promoted him to a canonry of Chimay and made him his private chaplain. When the Earl was fighting for the French king against the Flemings, Froissart accompanied him and so gained the information that enabled him to write his second book of Chronicles, largely devoted to the disturbances in Flanders.

Before finishing this second book he made his famous

journey to Béarn in 1388, in search of the best authority on the wars in the South. His homeward journey led him through Paris at the time of "the first entering of Isabel the French queen," and all the pageantry he witnessed in that brilliant June day is as carefully recorded in his Chronicles as the most weighty matters of state. Surely we are much indebted to an historian who can pause to put such touches as these in his picture :

"At the first gate of St Denis entering into Paris there was a heaven made full of stars, and within it young children apparelled like angels sweetly singing, and among them an image of Our Lady holding in figure her little Child, playing by himself with a little mill made of a great nut. This heaven was high and richly apparelled with the arms of France, with a banner of the sun shining of gold, casting his rays. . . . The queen and the other ladies as they passed under at the gate, they had great pleasure to behold it, and so had all other that passed by. . . .

"They found by their way other plays and pastimes, greatly to their pleasure. Among all other there was a master come out of Geneva : he had tied a cord on the highest house on the bridge of St Michael over all the houses, and the other end was tied on the highest tower in Our Lady's church. And as the queen passed by and was in the great street called Our Lady's street, because it was late this said master with two brenning candles in his hands issued out by a little stage that he had made on the height of Our Lady's tower, and singing he went upon the cord all along the great street, so that all that saw him had marvel how it might be ; and he bare still in his hands two brenning candles, so that it might well be seen over all Paris and two

mile without Paris. He was such a tumbler that his lightness was greatly praised."

And so all the details of the pageantry, the dinner at the palace, and the burgesses' presents to their new queen, form welcome material for the pen of the lively-minded chronicler upon his travels.

Having heard Gascons and Spaniards in Béarn give their account of the recent troubles in Portugal, Froissart, in order to know what was to be said on the other side, next betook himself to Bruges, where he had learnt there were Portuguese to be found. Thence he travelled to Middleburg, in Zealand, to interview a certain Portuguese knight, Pacheco, "a valiant man and a sage, and of the King of Portugal's council," from whom in the course of six days he gathered a great store of useful information for his history.

His journey to England in 1395 is related in the *Chronicles*, a sad return to the country where his old friends of the court of Edward III. were no more.

Little is known of the last years of his life, and the date of his death is uncertain. His life-work, the *Chronicles*, ended at the close of the days of Richard II. of England, at the close, that is, of the turbulent fourteenth century which he pictured so faithfully and graphically in his history.

The translation of our old French chronicler into English was first accomplished by Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners, a soldier and a statesman of the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Appointed deputy of Calais in 1520 he found leisure there for a large amount of writing, including the translation of Froissart. Critics have shown that his knowledge of French was not perfect, and here and there mistranslations are found

in his work ; but for all that, he ranks as one of the best of translators, for he entered with full appreciation into the spirit of the original, and his English wording is as aptly chosen as Froissart's French.

In the stories given in the following pages Berners' translation stands practically unaltered beyond the correction of proper names, which modern editing of Froissart has happily effected, and the occasional substitution of a present-day equivalent for a word that has now passed out of use in English. The following list supplies the meaning of the few more or less obsolete words that have been retained :—

an, if.

bain, bath.

basinet, helmet, light steel head-piece.

battle, battalion, division of an army or fleet.

bushment, ambush.

comfort, aid, support.

doubt, fear.

grise, grey fur.

harness, armour.

housel, give communion to.

incontinent, immediately.

require, beg, request.

sith, since.

springal, instrument of war for hurling stones, etc.

without, except, unless.

M. G. E.

I

THE RISE OF YOUNG EDWARD III

How the Queen of England went into
Hainault and returned to England
with Sir John of Hainault in
her company

KING EDWARD THE SECOND, father to the noble King Edward the Third, on whom our matter is founded, governed right wildly his realm by the sinister counsel of Sir Hugh Spencer, whereby great murmuring arose in England; and by his subtle wit Sir Hugh set great discord between the king and the queen, the which discord endured a long space.

Then the Queen of England, and her young son Edward with her, went and complained her to the King of France her brother; but Sir Hugh Spencer sent secret messengers into France with great plenty of gold and silver and rich jewels to the king and his privy council, and purchased that in a short space the Queen Isabel was banished out of France. Wherefore she departed and entered into Hainault, and lodged in the house of a knight called Sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, who received her right joyously in the best manner in his power.

The coming thus of the Queen of England and of her son and heir into the country of Hainault was anon well known in the house of the good Earl of Hainault, who was at Valenciennes; and Sir John of Hainault,

brother to the said earl, as one that was young and lusty, desiring all honour, mounted on his horse and came the same night to Aubrecicourt, and did to the queen all honour and reverence that he could devise.

The queen, who was right sorrowful, began to declare to him her dolours, whereof Sir John had great pity, so that the water rose in his eyes, and he said, "Fair lady, behold me here your own knight, who shall not fail you to die in the quarrel. I shall do the best in my power to conduct you and my lord your son, and help to bring you into your estates in England, by the grace of God and with the help of your friends in those parts."

Then the queen would have kneeled down for great joy that she had and for the good-will he offered her, but this noble knight took her up quickly in his arms and said, "By the grace of God the noble Queen of England shall not kneel to me; but, madame, comfort yourself and all your company, for I shall keep you faithful promise. And ye shall go see the earl my brother and the countess his wife and all their fair children, who shall receive you with great joy, for so I heard them report they would do."

And in the morning the queen departed in the company of Sir John, and thus was she brought before the Earl William of Hainault, who received her with great joy, and in likewise so did the countess his wife, and feasted her right nobly. And this earl had four fair daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Jane and Isabel, among whom the young Edward set most his love and company on Philippa, and also the young lady in all honour was more conversant with him than any of her sisters.

Thus the Queen Isabel abode at Valenciennes and apparelled for her needs and business, and then took leave of the Earl of Hainault and of the countess, and thanked

them greatly for the good cheer that they had made her. Thus this lady departed, and her son and all her company, with Sir John of Hainault, and arrived in England. Then the most part of all the realm turned to the queen and to Edward her eldest son, so that at the last it befell that Queen Isabel conquered again all her estate and dignity and put into execution all her enemies ; and Sir Hugh Spencer, who was nothing beloved, was executed. And the king was taken and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoner, and was then sent by the counsel of all the barons and knights to the strong castle of Berkeley and put under good keeping.

The Coronation of King Edward the Third

And when Christmas was come, the queen held a great court, and thither came earls, barons, knights, and all the nobles of the realm, with prelates and burgesses of good towns ; and at this assembly they put in writing all the deeds of the king, who was in prison, and all his usages and evil behavings, and how ill he had governed his realm, the which was read openly in plain audience. And when all the deeds that the king had done and consented to, and all his behaving and usages, were read, the barons and knights and burgesses drew them apart to counsel, and concluded that such a man was not worthy to be a king ; but they accorded that Edward his eldest son, who was rightful heir, should be crowned king instead of his father, and that the old king his father should be well and honestly kept as long as he lived, according to his estate.

Thus as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplished ; then was crowned with a crown royal at the palace of Westminster beside London the young

King Edward the Third, who in his days after was right fortunate and happy in arms. This coronation was in the year of our Lord 1326, on Christmas day, when the young king was about the age of sixteen.

How King Edward was married to my lady Philippa of Hainault

It was not two year after but that the king, and the queen his mother, the Earl of Kent his uncle, the Earl of Lancaster, Sir Roger Mortimer and all the barons of England, by the advice of the king's council, sent a bishop and two knights bannerets, with two notable clerks, to Sir John of Hainault, praying him to be a means that their lord, the young King of England, might have in marriage one of the daughters of the Earl of Hainault his brother, named Philippa ; for the king and all the nobles of the realm had rather have her than any other lady for the love of him.

Sir John of Hainault, Lord Beaumont, feasted and honoured greatly these ambassadors, and brought them to Valenciennes to the earl his brother, who honourably received them and made them such cheer that it were over long here to rehearse. And when they had showed the content of their message, the earl said, "Sirs, I thank greatly the king your prince and the queen his mother and all other lords of England, sith they have sent such sufficient personages as ye be to do me such honour as to treat for the marriage ; to the which request I am well agreed, if our holy father the Pope will consent thereto" : with the which answer these ambassadors were right well content.

Then they sent two knights and two clerks to the Pope, to Avignon, to purchase a dispensation for this

marriage ; for without the Pope's licence they might not marry, they were so near of kin ; for the two mothers were cousins-german. And when these ambassadors were come to the Pope, and their requests and considerations well heard, our holy father the Pope with all the whole college consented to this marriage, and so feasted them. And then they departed and came again to Valenciennes with their bulls.

Then was there devised and purveyed for apparel and for all things honourable that belonged to such a lady, who should be Queen of England. And there this princess was married by a sufficient procuration brought from the King of England ; and after all feasts and triumphs done, this young queen entered into the sea at Wissant, and arrived with all her company at Dover. And Sir John of Hainault, her uncle, did conduct her to the city of London, where there was made great feast, and the queen was crowned ; and there were also great jousts, tourneys, dancing, carolling, and great feasts every day, the which endured the space of three weeks.

This young Queen Philippa abode in England with small company of any persons of her own country, saving one who was named Walter Manny, who abode still with the queen and was her carver, and after did so many great prowesses in divers places that it were hard to make mention of them all.

II

DOUGLAS AND THE HEART OF BRUCE

How King Robert of Scotland died

THERE was a peace purchased between the kings of England and Scotland, the which peace was to endure three years, and in the meantime it fortuned that King Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble, for he was greatly charged with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death. And when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he trusted best, and showed them how there was no remedy with him, but he must needs leave this transitory life, commanding them on the faith and troth that they owed him, truly to keep the realm and aid the young prince David his son, and that when he were of age they should obey him and crown him king.

Then he called to him the gentle knight Sir James Douglas, and said before all the lords, "Sir James, my dear friend, ye know well that I have had much ado in my days to uphold and sustain the right of this realm; and when I had most ado I made a solemn vow, the which as yet I have not accomplished, whereof I am right sorry: the which was, if I might achieve and make an end of all my wars, so that I might once have brought this realm into rest and peace, then I promised in my mind to have gone and warred on

Douglas and the Heart of Bruce 23

Christ's enemies, adversaries to our holy Christian faith. To this purpose mine heart hath ever intended, but our Lord would not consent thereto ; for I have had so much ado in my days, and now in my last enterprise I have taken such a malady that I cannot escape. And sith it is so that my body cannot go nor achieve that my heart desireth, I will send the heart instead of the body to accomplish mine vow ; and because I know not in all my realm a knight more valiant than ye be, nor of body so well furnished to accomplish mine avow instead of myself, therefore I require you, mine own dear especial friend, that ye will take on you this voyage, for the love of me, and to acquit my soul against my Lord God. For I trust so much in your noblesse and truth, that an ye will take this on you, I doubt not but that ye shall achieve it ; and then shall I die in more ease and quiet, so that it be done in such manner as I shall declare unto you. I will, that as soon as I am trespassed out of this world, that ye take my heart out of my body and embalm it ; and take of my treasure as ye shall think sufficient for that enterprise, both for yourself and such company as ye will take with you, and present my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where our Lord lay, seeing my body cannot come there. And take with you such company and purveyance as shall be appertaining to your estate. And wheresoever ye come, let it be known how ye carry with you the heart of King Robert of Scotland, at his instance and desire, to be presented to the Holy Sepulchre."

Then all the lords that heard these words wept for pity. And when this knight, Sir James Douglas, might speak for weeping, he said, "Ah, gentle and noble king, a hundred times I thank your Grace for the great honour that ye do to me, sith of so noble and great

treasure ye give me in charge ; and, sir, I shall do with a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power ; howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise."

Then the king said, " Ah, gentle knight, I thank you, so that ye will promise to do it."

" Sir," said the knight, " I shall do it undoubtedly, by the faith that I owe to God and to the order of knighthood."

" Then I thank you," said the king, " for now shall I die in more ease of my mind, sith that I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me that which I could never attain unto."

And thus soon after this, noble Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, trespassed out of this uncertain world, and his heart was taken out of his body and embalmed, and honourably he was interred in the abbey of Dunfermline, in the year of our Lord 1329.

And when the springing-time began, then Sir James Douglas purveyed him of that which appertained for his enterprise, and took his ship at the port of Montrose in Scotland, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluys, to hear tidings and to know if there were any nobleman in that country that would go to Jerusalem, to the intent to have more company. And he lay still at Sluys the space of twelve days, and would never come a-land, but kept still his ship, and kept always his port and behaviour with great triumph, with trumpets and clarions, as though he had been king of Scots himself. And in his company there was a knight banneret and seven other knights of the realm of Scotland, and twenty-six young squires and gentlemen to serve him ; and all his vessel was of gold and silver, pots, basons, ewers, dishes, flagons, barrels, cups, and all other things ;

Douglas and the Heart of Bruce 25

and all such as would come and see him, they were well served with two manner of wines and divers manner of spices, all manner of people according to their degree.

And when he had thus tarried there the space of twelve days, he heard reported that Alphonso, king of Spain, made war against a Saracen king of Granada. Then he thought to draw to that part, thinking surely he could not bestow his time more nobly than to war against God's enemies ; and that enterprise done, then he thought to go forth to Jerusalem and to achieve that he was charged with.

And so he departed, and took the sea toward Spain, and arrived at the port of Valenza the Great ; then he went straight to the King of Spain, who held his host against the King of Granada, and they were near together on the frontiers of his land.

And within a while after that Sir James Douglas was come to the King of Spain, on a day the king issued out into the field to approach near to his enemies. And the King of Granada issued out in likewise, so that each king might see the other with all their banners displayed. Then they arranged their battles each against other. Then Sir James Douglas drew out on the one side with all his company, to the intent to show his prowess the better. And when he saw these battles thus ranged on both sides, and saw that the battle of the King of Spain began somewhat to advance towards their enemies, he thought then verily that they should soon assemble together to fight at hand-strokes ; and then he thought rather to be with the foremost than with the hindmost, and strake his horse with the spurs, and all his company also, and dashed into the battle of the King of Granada, crying, " Douglas ! Douglas ! " weening the King of Spain and his host had followed,

but they did not : wherefore he was deceived, for the Spanish host stood still. And so this gentle knight was enclosed, and all his company, with the Saracens, where he did marvels in arms ; but finally he could not endure, so that he and all his company were slain : the which was great pity, that the Spaniards would not rescue them.

III

THE SEA-FIGHT OF SLUYS

Of the battle on the sea before Sluys
in Flanders between the King of
England and the Frenchmen

NOW let us speak of the King of England, who was on the sea to the intent to arrive in Flanders, and so into Hainault, to make war against the Frenchmen. This was on Midsummer even, in the year of our Lord 1340 ; all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys on the sea were Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Nicolas Behuchet and Barbenoire, and more than six score great vessels, beside others ; and they were of Normans, Genoese and Picards about the number of forty thousand ; there they were laid by the French king to dispute the King of England's passage.

The King of England and his came sailing till he came before Sluys ; and when he saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were.

He answered and said, " Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, who have done great displeasure in England, burnt your town of Southampton, and taken your great ship the *Christopher*."

Ah!" quoth the king, "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them, by the grace of God and St George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures that I shall be revenged, an I may."

Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers; and ever between two ships of archers he had one ship with men of arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof with archers, to aid ever them that were most weary, if need were. And there were a great number of countesses, ladies, knights' wives and other damosels that were going to see the queen at Ghent; these ladies the king caused to be well kept with three hundred men of arms and five hundred archers.

When the king and his marshals had ordered his battles, he drew up the sails and came with a quarter wind, to have the vantage of the sun; and so at last they turned a little to get the wind at will. And when the Normans saw them turn back they had marvel why they did so; and some said, "They think themselves not meet to meddle with us, wherefore they will go back." They saw well how the King of England was there personally, by reason of his banners. Then they did apparel their fleet in order, for they were sage and good men of war, and did set the *Christopher*, the which they had won the year before, to be foremost, with many trumpets and instruments, and so set on their enemies.

There began a sore battle on both sides, archers and crossbows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grapnels of iron to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast



The Capture of the "Christopher"



together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again ; and at last the great *Christopher* was won by the Englishmen and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christopher* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoese.

This battle was right fierce and terrible ; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land. For on the sea there is no retreating nor fleeing ; there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess.

Of a truth Sir Hugh Quieret and Sir Nicolas Behuchet and Barbenoire were right good and expert men of war. This battle endured from the morning till it was noon, and the Englishmen endured much pain, for their enemies were four against one, and all good men on the sea.

There the King of England proved himself a noble knight of his own hand ; he was in the flower of his youth. In likewise so did the Earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton and Gloucester ; Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Richard Stafford, the Lord Percy, Sir Walter Manny, Sir Henry of Flanders, Sir John Beauchamp, the Lord Felton, the Lord Bradestan, Sir John Chandos, the Lord Delaware, the Lord Multon, Sir Robert d'Artois, called Earl of Richmond, and divers other lords and knights, who bare themselves so valiantly, with some succours that they had of Bruges and from the country thereabout, that they obtained the victory ; so that the Frenchmen, Normans and others were discomfited, slain, and drowned ; there was not one that escaped, but all were slain.

When this victory was achieved, the king all that night abode in his ship before Sluys, with great noise

of trumpets and other instruments. Thither came to see the king divers of Flanders, such as had heard of the king's coming. And on the next day, the which was Midsummer day, the king and all his took land, and the king on foot went a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Ardembourg, and there heard mass and dined; and then took his horse and rode to Ghent, where the queen received him with great joy.

IV

THE TAKING OF EDINBURGH CASTLE

How the Scots won again great part of Scotland

NOW it is to be remembered how Sir William Douglas and the Earl Patrick of Dunbar, the Earl of Sutherland, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir Simon Fraser, and Alexander Ramsay, they were captains in such part of Scotland as was left unwon by the Englishmen. And they had continued in the forest of Jedworth the space of seven year, winter and summer ; and as they might they made war against the Englishmen there in garrison. Sometime they had good adventure, and sometime evil. And while the King of England was at siege before Tournay, the French king sent men of war into Scotland ; and they desired the Scots, in the French king's name, that they would set on and make such war in the realm of England that the king might be fain to return home to rescue his own realm, and to leave the siege at Tournay ; and the French king promised them men and money to aid them so to do.

And so the Scots departed out of the forest of Jedworth and passed through Scotland, and won again divers fortresses, and so passed the town of Berwick and the river of Tyne and entered into the country of Northumberland, the which sometime was a realm.

There they found great plenty of beasts, and wasted and burnt all the country to Durham; then they returned by another way, destroying the country. In this voyage they destroyed more than three days' journey into the realm of England, and then returned into Scotland and conquered again all the fortresses that were holden by the Englishmen, except the city of Berwick and three other castles, the which did them great trouble. They were so strong that it would have been hard to have found any such in any country; the one was Stirling, another Roxburgh, and the third the chief of all Scotland, Edinburgh, the which castle standeth on a high rock, that a man must rest once or twice ere he come to the highest of the hill; and captain there was Sir Walter Limousin.

So it was that Sir William Douglas devised a feat, and made known his intention to his companions, to the Earl Patrick, to Sir Simon Fraser, and to Alexander Ramsay; and all they agreed together. Then they took a two hundred of the wild Scots, and entered into the sea, and made provision of oats, meal, coals and wood; and so peaceably they arrived at a port near to the castle of Edinburgh. And in the night they armed them, and took a ten or twelve of their company, such as they did trust best, and did disguise them in poor torn coats and hats, like poor men of the country, and charged a twelve small horses with sacks, some with oats, some with wheatmeal, and some with coals; and they did set all their company in a bushment, in an old destroyed abbey thereby, near to the foot of the hill.

And when the day began to appear, covertly armed as they were, they went up the hill with their merchandise. And when they were in the mid way, Sir William Douglas and Sir Simon Fraser, disguised as they were, went a

The Taking of Edinburgh Castle 33

little before and came to the porter and said, "Sir, in great fear we have brought hither oats and wheat-meal; and if ye have any need thereof, we will sell it to you good cheap."

"Marry," said the porter, "and we have need thereof; but it is so early that I dare not awake the captain nor his steward. But let them come in, and I shall open the outer gate."

And so they all entered. Sir William Douglas saw well how the porter had in his hands the keys of the great gate of the castle. Then when the first gate was opened, their horses with carriages entered in; and the two that came last, laden with coals, they made them to fall down on the ground-sill of the gate, to the intent that the gate should not be closed again. And then they took the porter and slew him so peaceably that he never spake word. Then they took the great keys and opened the castle gate; then Sir William Douglas blew a horn, and they did cast away their torn coats, and laid all the other sacks overthwart the gate, to the intent that it should not be shut again. And when they of the bushment heard the horn, in all haste they might, they mounted the hill.

Then the watchman of the castle with noise of the horn awoke, and saw how the people were coming all armed to the castle-ward. Then he blew his horn and cried, "Treason, treason! Sirs, arise and arm you shortly, for yonder be men of arms approaching to your fortress."

Then every man arose and armed them, and came to the gate; but Sir William Douglas and his twelve companions defended so the gate that they could not close it; and so by great valiantness they kept the entry open till they of the bushment came. They within defended the castle as well as they might, and hurt

divers of them without ; but Sir William and the Scots did so much that they conquered the fortress, and all the Englishmen within were slain, except the captain and six other squires.

So the Scots tarried there all that day, and made a knight of the country captain there, and with him divers others of the country. These tidings came to the King of England before Tournay.

V

THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY

How the King of England came over
the sea again, and rode in three
battles through Normandy

THE King of England had heard how his men, who were at war in Gascony, were sore constrained in the castle of Aiguillon, and so he thought to go over the sea into Gascony with a great army. Thereto he made his provision, and sent for men all about his realm and in other places where he thought to speed for his money; and he caused a great navy of ships to be ready in the haven of Southampton, and all manner of men to draw thither. About the feast of St John the Baptist, the year of our Lord 1346, the King rode to Southampton and there entered into his ship, and the Prince of Wales with him, who was of the age of sixteen years or thereabout, and other lords, earls, barons and knights, with all their companies. They were in number a four thousand men of arms and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen and Welshmen that followed the host afoot.

Thus they sailed forth that day in the name of God. They were well onward on their way toward Gascony, but on the third day there arose a contrary wind and drave them on the marches of Cornwall, and there they lay at anchor six days. In that space the King had

other counsel of Sir Godfrey Harcourt, who had been banished out of France and was well received and retained by the King of England; he counselled the King not to go into Gascony, but rather to set aland in Normandy, and said to the King, "Sir, the country of Normandy is one of the plenteous countries of the world. If ye will land there, there is none that shall resist you; the people of Normandy have not been used to war, and all the knights and squires of the country are now at the siege before Aiguillon with the Duke of Normandy; and sir, there ye shall find great towns that be not walled, whereby your men shall have such winning that they shall be the better thereby twenty year after."

The King, who was then but in the flower of his youth, desiring nothing so much as to have deeds of arms, inclined greatly to the saying of the Lord Godfrey Harcourt. He commanded the mariners to set their course to Normandy, and they had wind at will and arrived at a port called La Hogue.

When the King of England arrived at La Hogue, he issued out of his ship, and the first foot that he set on the ground he fell so rudely that the blood brast out of his nose. The knights that were about him took him up and said, "Sir, for God's sake enter again into your ship, and come not aland this day, for this is but an evil sign for us."

Then the King answered quickly and said, "Wherefore? This is a good token for me, for the land desireth to have me." Of the which answer all his men were right joyful.

So that day and night the King lodged on the sands, and made two marshals of his host, the one the Lord Godfrey Harcourt and the other the Earl of Warwick,

and the Earl of Arundel, constable. And he ordained that the Earl of Huntingdon should keep the fleet of ships, with a hundred men of arms and four hundred archers. Also he ordained three battles, one to go on his right hand, closing to the sea-side, and the other on his left, and the King himself in the midst, and every night to lodge all in one field.

Thus they set forth. And they that went by the sea took all the ships that they found in their ways; and so long they went forth, what by sea and what by land, that they came to a good port and to a good town called Barfleur, the which incontinent was won, for they within gave up for fear of death. Howbeit, for all that, the town was robbed, and much gold and silver there found and rich jewels: there was found so much riches that the boys and villeins of the host set nothing by good furred gowns. They made all the men of the town to issue out and to go into the ships, because they would not suffer them to be behind them for fear of rebelling again. Then they spread abroad in the country and did what they list, for there were none to resist them.

And Sir Godfrey Harcourt with five hundred men of arms rode off from the King's battle on his left hand, burning and wasting the country, the which was plentiful of everything—the granges full of corn, the houses full of all riches; they took what they list and brought it into the King's host; but the soldiers made no count to the King or his officers of the gold and silver that they did get; they kept that to themselves. Thus by the Englishmen was burnt, robbed and wasted the good, plentiful country of Normandy.

The French King heard well what the Englishmen

battle, battalion.

did, and sware and said how they should never return again unfought withal, and that such hurts and damages as they had done should be dearly revenged ; wherefore he assembled together the greatest number of people that had been seen in France a hundred year before. He sent for men into so far countries that it was long before they came together, wherefore the King of England did what he list in the mean season ; the French King had sent letters to his friends in the Empire, and to the gentle King of Bohemia, and to the Lord Charles his son, and desired them to come to him with all their powers to fight with the King of England. These princes and lords made them ready with great numbers of men of arms, of Germans, Bohemians and Luxemburgers, and so came to the French King.

Ye have heard of the order of the Englishmen, how they went in three battles : they rode but small journeys, and every day took their lodgings between noon and three of the clock, and found the country so fruitful that they needed not to make provision for their host, but only for wine. It was no marvel though they of the country were afraid, for before that time they had never seen men of war, nor wist they what war or battle meant.

Thus the King of England rode forth, wasting and burning the country. He went to a great town called Caen and took it, and won great riches. Then the King sent into England his navy of ships charged with clothes, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, and other riches, and of prisoners more than sixty knights and three hundred burgesses. Then he departed from the town of Caen and took the way to Poissy on the river of Seine, and kept there the feast of our Lady in August ; and after that feast he went forth into the country about Beauvais, and

so came to Poix and thence to Airaines. There the King was minded to lie a day or two for he wist not where to pass the river of Somme, the which was large and deep, and all bridges were broken and the passages well kept : the French King had so well defended the passages to the intent that the King of England should not pass the river to fight with him at his advantage. And when the Englishmen had assayed in all places thereabout to find passage and could find none, then they dislodged and so rode in the country of Vimeu, approaching to the good town of Abbeville.

Now let us speak of King Philip, who was at St Denis and his people about him, and daily they increased. Then on a day he departed and rode so long that he came to Amiens, and the next day to Airaines ; and the Englishmen were departed thence that same morning. The Frenchmen found there great provision that the Englishmen had left behind them, because they departed in haste. There they found flesh ready on the spits, bread and pasties in the ovens, wine in tuns and barrels, and the tables ready laid. There the French King lodged.

That night the King of England was lodged at Oisemont. Then he assembled together his council and made to be brought before him certain prisoners of the country of Ponthieu and of Vimeu, and right courteously demanded of them if there were any among them that knew any passage beneath Abbeville, that he and his host might pass over the river of Somme ; if he would show him thereof, he should be quit of his ransom, and twenty of his company for his love.

There was a varlet called Gobin Agace, who stepped forth and said to the King, " Sir, I promise you on jeopardy of my head, I shall bring you to such a place

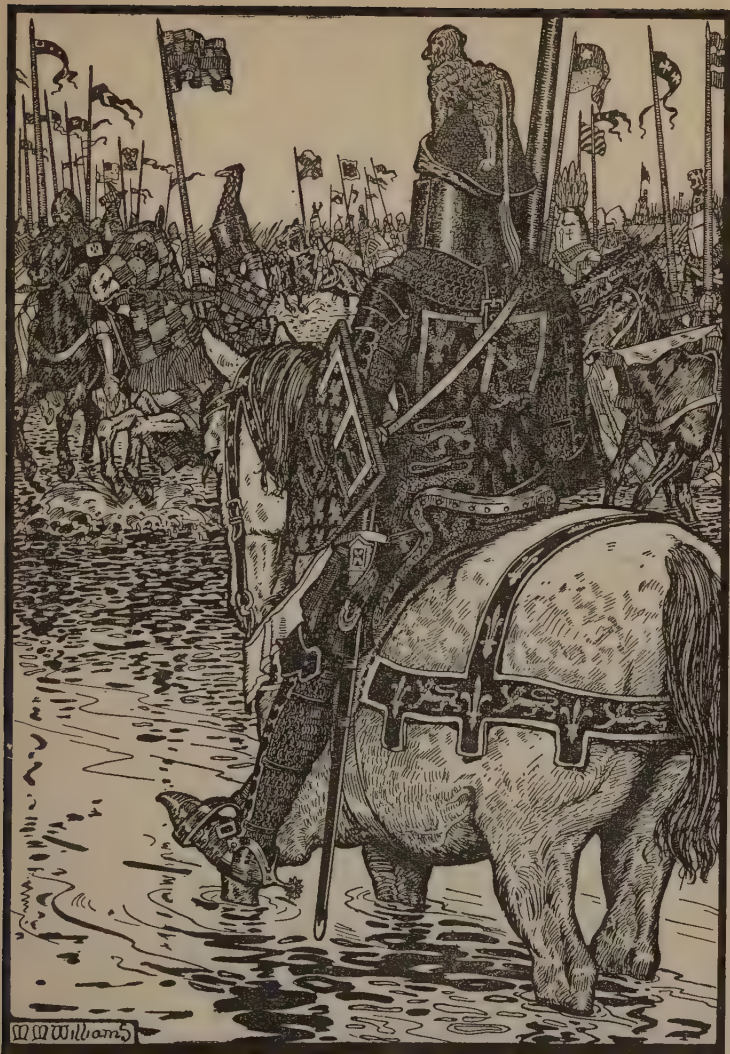
where ye and all your host shall pass the river of Somme without peril. When the tide cometh, the river then waxeth so great at this passage that no man can pass ; but when the tide is gone, the which is two times between day and night, then the river is so low that it may be passed without danger, both a-horseback and afoot. The passage is hard in the bottom with white stones, so that all your carriage may go surely ; therefore the passage is called Blanche-taque. An ye make ready to depart betimes, ye may be there by the sun-rising."

The King said, " If this be true that ye say, I quit thee thy ransom and all thy company, and moreover shall give thee a hundred nobles." Then the King commanded every man to be ready at the sound of the trumpet to depart.

Of the battle of Blanche-taque, between the King of England and Sir Godemar du Fay

The King of England slept not much that night, for at midnight he arose and sounded his trumpet ; then they made ready carriages and all things, and at the breaking of the day they departed from the town of Oisemont and rode after the guiding of Gobin Agace, so that they came by the sun-rising to Blanche-taque. But then the tide was up, so that they might not pass ; so the King tarried till it was prime ; then the ebb came.

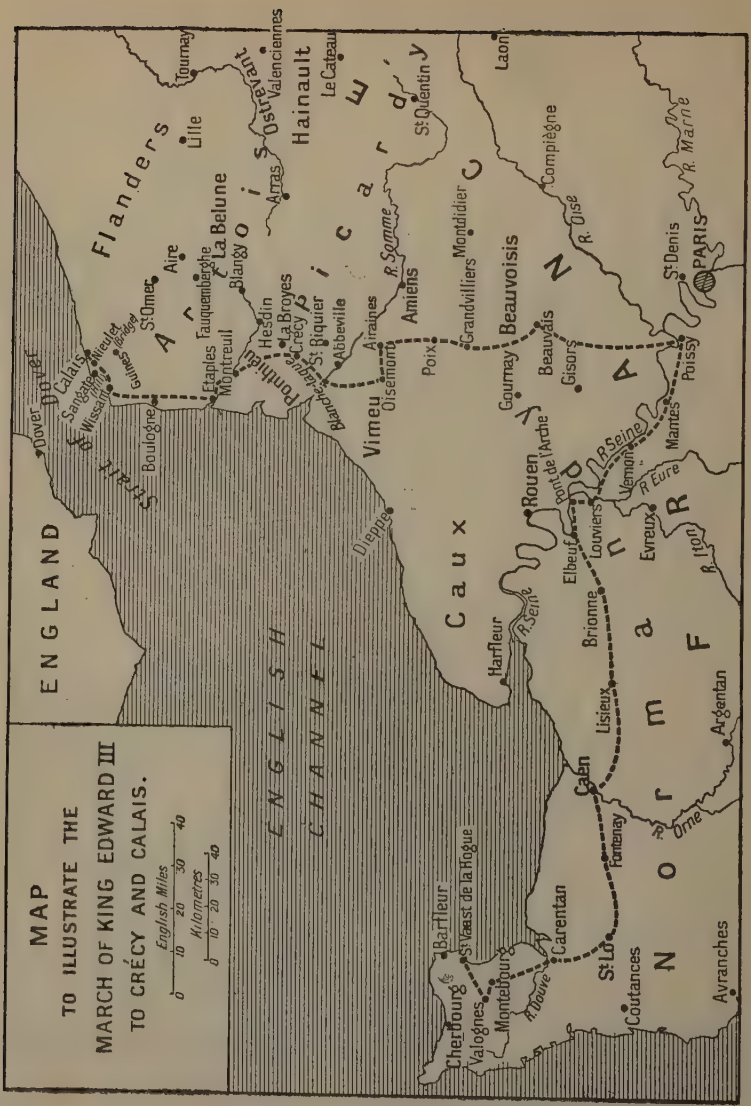
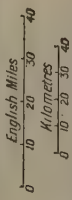
The French King had his scouts in the country, who brought him word of the Englishmen. Then he thought to close the King of England between Abbeville and the river of Somme, and so to fight with him at his pleasure. And when he was at Amiens he had ordained a great



Crossing the Somme at Blanche-taque

MAP

TO ILLUSTRATE THE
MARCH OF KING EDWARD III
TO CRÉCY AND CALAIS.



baron of Normandy, called Sir Godemar du Fay, to go and keep the passage of Blanche-taque, where the Englishmen must pass, or else in none other place. This Sir Godemar had with him a thousand men of arms and six thousand afoot, with the Genoese, and a great number of men of the country, and of them of Montreuil ; so that they were a twelve thousand men, one and other.

When the English host was come thither, Sir Godemar du Fay arranged all his company to defend the passage. The King of England stayed not for all that ; but when the tide was gone, he commanded his marshals to enter into the water in the name of God and St George. Then they that were hardy and courageous entered on both sides, and many a man was thrown. There were some of the Frenchmen of Artois and Picardy that were as glad to joust in the water as on the dry land. The Frenchmen defended so well the passage at the issuing out of the water that the English had much to do ; the Genoese did them great trouble with their cross-bows. On the other side the archers of England shot so wholly together that the Frenchmen were fain to give place to the Englishmen. There was a sore battle, and many a noble feat of arms done on both sides. Finally the Englishmen passed over and assembled together in the field ; the King and the prince passed, and all the lords ; then the Frenchmen kept none array, but departed, he that might best.

When Sir Godemar saw that discomfiture, he fled and saved himself. Some fled to Abbeville, and some to St Riquier ; they that were there afoot could not flee, so that there were slain a great number ; the chase endured more than a great league. And as yet all the Englishmen were not passed the river, when certain

scouts of them at Airaines came on them, and took certain horses and carriages, and slew divers before they could take the passage.

The French King the same morning was departed from Airaines, trusting to have found the Englishmen between him and the river of Somme ; but when he heard how that Sir Godemar du Fay and his company were discomfited, he tarried in the field and demanded of his marshals what was best to do. They said, " Sir, ye cannot pass the river but at the bridge of Abbeville, for the tide is come in at Blanche-taque." Then he returned and lodged at Abbeville.

The King of England, when he was passed the river, he thanked God, and so rode forth in like manner as he did before. Then he called Gobin Agace and did quit him his ransom and all his company, and gave him a hundred nobles and a good horse. And so the King rode forth fair and easily ; and lodged that day near to Crécy in Ponthieu : this was on a Friday.

Of the order of the Englishmen at Crécy

The King of England was well informed how the French King followed after him to fight. Then he said to his company, " Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no farther till we have seen our enemies. I have good cause here to abide them, for I am on the right heritage of the queen my mother, the which land was given at her marriage : I will challenge it of mine adversary Philip of Valois."

And because that he had not the eighth part in number of men that the French King had, therefore he commanded his marshals to choose a plot of ground somewhat for his advantage ; and so they did, and

thither the King and his host went. That night the King made a supper to all the chief lords of his host, and made them good cheer. And when they were all departed to take their rest, then the King entered into his oratory and kneeled down before the altar, praying God devoutly that if he fought on the morrow he might achieve the day to his honour. Then about midnight he laid him down to rest ; and in the morning he rose betimes and heard mass, and the prince his son with him ; and the most part of his company were confessed and houselled. And after the mass said, he commanded every man to be armed and to draw to the field, to the same place before appointed.

Then the King caused a park to be made by the wood-side behind his host, and there was set all carts and carriages, and within the park were all their horses, for every man was afoot ; and into this park there was but one entry.

Then he ordained three battles. In the first was the young Prince of Wales ; with him the Earl of Warwick and Oxford, the Lord Godfrey Harcourt, Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Thomas Holland, the Lord Stafford, the Lord Delaware, Sir John Chandos, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Sir Robert Neville, the Lord Thomas Clifford, the Lord Bouchier, and divers other knights and squires that I cannot name ; they were an eight hundred men of arms and two thousand archers, and a thousand of others with the Welshmen. Every lord drew to the field appointed, under his own banner and pennon. In the second battle was the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Ros, the Lord Lucy, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Basset, and divers others, about an eight hundred men of arms and twelve hundred archers. The King had the third

battle; he had seven hundred men of arms and two thousand archers.

Then the King leapt on a palfrey, with a white rod in his hand, one of his marshals on the one side and the other on the other side; he rode from rank to rank, desiring every man to take heed that day to his right and honour. He spake it so sweetly, and with so good countenance and merry cheer, that all such as were discomfited took courage in the seeing and hearing of him. And when he had thus visited all his battles, it was then nine of the day; then he caused every man to eat and drink a little; and so they did at their leisure. And afterwards they ordered again their battles; then every man lay down on the earth, and by him his helmet and bow, to be the fresher when their enemies should come.

The order of the Frenchmen at Crécy, and how they beheld the demeanour of the Englishmen

This Saturday the French King rose betimes and heard mass in Abbeville in his lodging in the abbey of St Peter, and departed after the sun-rising. When he was out of the town two leagues, approaching toward his enemies, some of his lords said to him, "Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battles, and let all your footmen pass somewhat on before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen."

Then the King sent four knights, the Lord Moyne of Bastleburg, the Lord of Noyers, the Lord of Beaujeu, and the Lord d'Aubigny, to ride to aview the English host; and so they rode so near that they might well see part of their dealing. The Englishmen saw them

well, and knew how they were come thither to aview them ; they let them alone and made no countenance toward them, and let them return as they came.

And when the French King saw these four knights return again, he tarried till they came to him, and said, “Sirs, what tidings ?”

These four knights each of them looked on other, for there was none would speak before his companion ; finally the King said to Moyne, who pertained to the King of Bohemia, and had done in his days so much that he was reputed for one of the most valiant knights of the world, “Sir, speak you.”

Then he said, “Sir, I shall speak, sith it pleaseth you, under the correction of my fellows. Sir, we have ridden and seen the behaving of your enemies ; know ye for truth they are rested in three battles, abiding for you. Sir, I will counsel you, as for my part, saving your displeasure, that you and all your company rest here and lodge for this night ; for before they that be behind of your company be come hither and your battles be set in good order, it will be very late, and your people be weary and out of array, and ye shall find your enemies fresh and ready to receive you. Early in the morning ye may order your battles at more leisure, and regard well what way ye will assail your enemies ; for, sir, surely they will abide you.”

Then the King commanded that it should be so done. Then his two marshals rode, one before, another behind, saying to every banner, “Tarry and abide here in the name of God and St Denis.”

They that were foremost tarried ; but they that were behind would not tarry, but rode forth, and said how they would in no wise abide till they were as far forward as the foremost. And when they before saw them come

on behind, then they rode forward again, so that the King or his marshals could not rule them. So they rode without order or good array till they came in sight of their enemies ; and as soon as the foremost saw them they turned then aback without good array, whereof they behind had marvel and were abashed, and thought that the foremost company had been fighting. Then they might have had leisure and room to have gone forward if they had list ; some went forth, and some abode still. The commons, of whom all the ways between Abbeville and Crécy were full, when they saw that they were near to their enemies, they took their swords, and cried, " Down with them ! let us slay them all ! "

There was no man, though he were present that day, that could imagine or show the truth of the ill order that was among the French party, and yet they were a marvellous great number. That I write in this book, I learned it specially of the Englishmen, who well beheld their dealing ; and also certain knights of Sir John of Hainault showed me as they knew.

Of the battle of Crécy, between the King of England and the French King

The Englishmen, who were in three battles, lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily, without any haste, and arranged their battles. The first was the prince's battle ; the archers there stood in the manner of a portecullis or harrow, and the men of arms in the rear. The Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to aid the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after, in such haste and evil order that one of them did trouble another.

When the French King saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and he said to his marshals, "Make the Genoese go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and St Denis."

There were of the Genoese crossbows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their crossbows that they said to their constables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in condition to do any great deed of arms; we have more need of rest."

These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said, "A man is well served with such rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need!"

Also the same season there fell a great rain with a terrible thunder and lightning, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows, for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyes and on the Englishmen's backs.

When the Genoese were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that. Then the Genoese again the second time made another fell cry, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot. Thirdly, again they cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace, and let fly their arrows so wholly and so thick that it seemed snow. When the

Genoese felt the arrows piercing through their heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings, and returned discomfited.

When the French King saw them fly away, he said, "Slay these rascals, for they will hinder and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and kill a great number of them. And ever still the Englishmen shot where they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese; and when they were down they could not rise again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another.

And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the King of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant King of Bohemia, called Charles of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him, "Where is the Lord Charles my son?"

His men said, "Sir, we cannot tell; we think he be fighting."

Then he said, "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends this day; I require you bring me so far forward that I may strike one stroke with my sword."

They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press they tied all the reins of their bridles each to other, and set the King before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies.

The Lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, came in good order to the battle, but when he saw that the matter went awry on their part, he departed, I cannot tell you which way.

The King his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly, and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward that they were there all slain, and the next day they were found in the place about the King, and all their horses tied each to other.

The Earl of Alençon came to the battle right orderly and fought with the Englishmen, and the Earl of Flanders also; these two lords with their companies coasted the English archers and came to the prince's battle, and there fought valiantly and long. The French King would fain have come thither when he saw their banners, but there was a great hedge of archers before him.

The same day the French King had given a great black courser to Sir John of Hainault, who made the Lord Thierrî de Senzeille to ride on him, and to bear his banner. The same horse took the bridle in the teeth, and brought him through the Englishmen; and as he would have returned again, he fell in a great dyke and was sore hurt, and had been there dead if his page had not been near, who followed him through all the battles and saw where his master lay in the dyke and had none other hindrance but for his horse, for the Englishmen would not issue out of their battle for the taking of any prisoner. Then the page alighted and raised his master; then he went not back again the same way that they came; there were too many in his way.

Sir John of Hainault, the champion of Edward III. in his early days, had been won over to the French side by a false report that the English would not pay him his subsidy at the time appointed.

This battle between La Broyes and Crécy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometimes came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise that they were ever nigh slain; there were none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined.

In the morning of the day of the battle certain Frenchmen and Germans perforce broke through the archers of the prince's battle, and came and fought with the men of arms hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the King, who was on a little windmill hill.

Then the knight said to the King, "Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Oxford, Sir Reginald Cobham and other such as be about the prince your son are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled, wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado."

Then the king said, "Is my son dead, or hurt, or on the earth felled?"

"No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched, wherefore he hath need of your aid."

"Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you thither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that this day be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him."

Then the knight returned again to them and showed the King's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and they repented in that they had sent to the King as they did.

Sir Godfrey Harcourt would gladly that the Earl of Harcourt his brother might have been saved ; for he heard say by them that saw his banner, how that he was there in the field on the French side, but Sir Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slain before he could come at him, and so was also the Earl of Aumale his nephew. In another place the Earl of Alençon and the Earl of Flanders fought valiantly, every lord under his own banner ; but finally they could not resist against the puissance of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slain, and divers other knights and squires. Also the Earl Louis of Blois, nephew to the French King, and the Duke of Lorraine fought under their banners, but at last they were closed in among a company of Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slain, for all their prowess. Also there were slain the Earl of Auxerre, the Earl of St Pol and many other.

In the evening the French King had left about him no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the King, for his horse was slain with an arrow ; then he said to the King, " Sir, depart hence, for it is time ; lose not yourself wilfully. If ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season." And so he took the King's horse by the bridle, and led him away in a manner perforce.

Then the King rode till he came to the castle of La Broyes. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark. Then the King called the captain, who came

to the walls and said, "Who is that calleth there this time of night?"

Then the King said, "Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France."

The captain knew then it was the King, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the King entered; and he had with him but five barons, Sir John of Hainault, Sir Charles of Montmorency, the Lord of Beaujeu, the Lord d'Aubigny and the Lord of Mountfort. The King would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

How the next day after the battle the Englishmen discomfited divers Frenchmen

On this Saturday when the night was come and the Englishmen heard no more noise of the Frenchmen, they reputed themselves to have the victory, and the Frenchmen to be discomfited, slain, and fled away. Then they made great fires, and lighted up torches and candles because it was very dark. Then the King came down from the little hill where he stood; and of all that day till then his helm never came on his head. Then he went with all his battle to his son the prince, and embraced him in his arms and kissed him, and said, "Fair son, God give you good perseverance. Ye are my good son, thus ye have acquitted you nobly;

ye are worthy to keep a realm." The prince inclined himself to the earth, honouring the King his father. This night they thanked God for their good adventure, and made no boast thereof; for the King would that no man should be proud or make boast, but every man humbly to thank God.

On the Sunday in the morning there was such a mist that a man might not see the breadth of an acre of land from him. Then there departed from the host, by the commandment of the king and marshals, five hundred spears and two thousand archers, to see if they might see any Frenchmen gathered again together in any place. The same morning out of Abbeville and St Riquier in Ponthieu the commons of Rouen and of Beauvais issued out of their towns, not knowing of the discomfiture the day before. They met with the Englishmen, weening they had been Frenchmen; and when the Englishmen saw them, they set on them freshly, and there was a sore battle, but at last the Frenchmen fled, and kept none array. There were slain in the ways and in hedges and bushes more than seven thousand, and if the day had been clear there had never a one escaped.

Anon after, another company of Frenchmen were met by the Englishmen, the Archbishop of Rouen and the Great Prior of France, who also knew nothing of the discomfiture the day before; for they heard that the French King should have fought the same Sunday, and they were going thitherward. When they met with the Englishmen there was a great battle, for they were a great number; but they could not endure against the Englishmen; they were nigh all slain, few escaped; the two lords were slain.

This morning the Englishmen met with divers French-

men that had lost their way on the Saturday and had lain all night in the fields, and wist not where the King was nor the captains. They were all slain, as many as were met with; and it was showed me, that of the commons and men afoot of the cities and good towns of France, there were slain four times as many as were slain the Saturday in the great battle.

How the next day after the battle of Crécy they that were dead were numbered by the Englishmen

The same Sunday, as the King of England came from mass, such as had been sent forth returned and showed the King what they had seen and done, and said, "Sir, we think surely there is now no more appearance of any of our enemies."

Then the King sent to search how many were slain, and what they were. Sir Reginald Cobham and Sir Richard Stafford with three heralds went to search the field and country; they visited all them that were slain, and rode all day in the fields, and returned again to the host as the King was going to supper. They made just report of that they had seen, and said how there were eleven great princes dead, fourscore banners, twelve hundred knights, and more than thirty thousand others.

The Englishmen kept still their field all that night; and on the Monday in the morning prepared to depart. The King caused the dead bodies of the great lords to be taken up and buried in holy ground; and made a cry in the country to grant truce for three days, to the intent that they of the country might search the field of Crécy to bury the dead bodies.

Then the King went forth and came before the town of Montreuil by the sea, and his marshals ran toward Hesdin ; they lodged that night on the river of Hesdin toward Blangy. The next day they rode toward Boulogne and came to the town of Wissant ; there the King and the prince lodged, and tarried there a day to refresh his men ; and on the Wednesday the King came before the strong town of Calais.

VI

THE SIEGE OF CALAIS

How the King of England laid siege to
Calais, and how all the poor people
were put out of the town

WHEN the King of England was come before Calais, he laid his siege and caused carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, between the town and the river, and set the houses like streets, and covered them with reed and broom, so that it was like a little town; and there was everything to sell, and a market-place to be kept every Tuesday and Saturday for flesh and fish and mercery ware; houses for cloth, for bread, wine, and all other things necessary, such as came out of England or out of Flanders; there they might buy what they list.

The Englishmen ran oftentimes into the country of Guines, and to the gates of St Omer, and sometime to Boulogne; they brought in to their host great prey. The King would not assail the town of Calais, for he thought it but a lost labour; he spared his people and his artillery, and said how he would famish them in the town with long siege, without the French King should come and raise his siege perforce.

When the captain of Calais, who was a knight of Burgundy, called Sir John de Vienne, saw the manner and the order of the Englishmen, then he constrained

all poor and mean people to issue out of the town ; and on a Wednesday there issued out of men, women and children more than seventeen hundred. And as they passed through the host, they were demanded why they departed, and they answered and said, because they had nothing to live on. Then the King did them that grace that he suffered them to pass through his host without danger, and gave them meat and drink to dinner, and every person two pence sterling in alms, for the which many of them prayed for the King's prosperity.

How the French King assembled a great
host, and how the King of England
made the passages about Calais to
be well kept, that the French
King should not approach

King Philip, who knew well how his men were sore constrained in Calais, commanded every man to be with him at the feast of Pentecost in the city of Amiens or thereabout ; there was none durst say nay. The King kept there a great feast ; thither came Duke Eudes of Burgundy, the Duke of Normandy, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Earl of Foix, and divers other earls, barons and knights.

The King of England saw well how he could not get Calais but by famine ; then he made a strong castle and a high, to close up the passage by the sea ; and this castle was set between the town and the sea, and was well fortified with springals, bombards, bows and other artillery. And in this castle were threescore men of arms and two hundred archers ; they kept the haven in such wise that nothing could come in or out ; it

was thought that thereby they within should the sooner be famished.

Then the French King took counsel and went to the town of Arras, and thence to Hesdin ; his host with the carriage held well in length a three leagues of that country ; there he tarried a day, and the next day went to Blangy. Then he was counselled to go through the country called La Belune ; and that way he took, and with him a two hundred thousand, one and other, and passed by Fauquemberghe, and so came straight to the hill of Sangate, between Calais and Wissant. They came thither in goodly order, with banners displayed, that it was great beauty to behold their puissant array. When they of Calais saw them lodge, it seemed to them a new siege.

Ye shall hear what the King of England did and caused to be done, when he saw and knew that the French King came with so great an host to raise the siege, the which had cost him so much goods and pain of his body, and lost him many of his men. He knew well how he had so constrained the town that it could not long endure for default of victuals ; it grieved him sore then to depart. Then he considered well how the Frenchmen could not approach to his host or to the town but in two places, either by the downs by the sea-side, or else above by the highway, where there were many dykes, rocks and marshes, and but one way to pass, over a bridge called Nieulet bridge. Then the King made all his navy to draw along by the coast of the downs, every ship well garnished with bombards, crossbows, archers, springals and other artillery, whereby the French host might not pass that way ; and the King caused the Earl of Derby to go and keep Nieulet bridge with a great number of men of arms and archers so that the French-

men could pass no way, without they would have gone through the marshes, the which was impossible.

On the other side toward Calais there was a high tower kept with thirty archers, and they kept the passage of the downs from the Frenchmen, the which was well fortified with great and double dykes. When the Frenchmen were thus lodged on the mount of Sangate, the men of Tournay, who were a fifteen hundred, came to that tower, and they within shot at them, but they passed the dykes, and came to the foot of the wall with pikes and hooks. There was a sore assault, many of them of Tournay sore hurt; but at last they won the tower, and all they that were within were slain, and the tower beaten down.

The French King sent his marshals to see what way he might approach to fight with the Englishmen; so they went forth, and when they had viewed the passages and straits, they returned to the King and said, how in no wise he could come to the Englishmen without he would lose his people. So the matter rested all that day and night after.

The next day after mass the French King sent to the King of England the Lord Geoffrey de Charny, the Lord Eustace de Ribemont, Sir Guy de Nesle and the Lord of Beaujeu; and as they rode they saw well it was hard to pass that way; they praised much the order that the Earl of Derby kept there at the bridge of Nieulet, by the which they passed. Then they rode till they came to the King, and lighted and did their reverence to him.

Then the Lord Eustace de Ribemont said, "Sir, the King my master sendeth you word by us that he is come to the mount of Sangate to do battle with you, but he can find no way to come to you; therefore, sir, he would that ye should appoint certain of your

council, and he in likewise of his, and they between them to advise a place for the battle."

The King of England was ready advised to answer, and said, "Sirs, I well understand that which ye desire me on the behalf of mine adversary, who keepeth wrongfully from me mine heritage, whereat I am aggrieved. Say unto him from me if ye list, that I am here, and so have been nigh an whole year, and all this he knew right well : he might have come hither sooner if he had willed, but he hath suffered me to abide here so long, the which hath been greatly to my cost and charge. I now could do so much, if I would, as to be soon lord of Calais, wherefore I am determined not to follow his device, nor depart from that which I am at the point to win, and which I have so sore desired and dearly bought. Wherefore if he and his men cannot pass this way, let them seek some other passage, if they think to come hither."

Then these lords departed, and were conveyed till they were past Nieulet bridge ; then they showed the French King the King of England's answer.

In the mean season while the French King studied how to fight with the King of England, there came into his host two cardinals from Pope Clement in legation, who took great pain to ride between these hosts ; and they procured so much that there was granted a certain treaty of accord and a respite between the two kings and their men. And so there were four lords appointed on either party to counsel together and to treat for a peace ; and the two cardinals were means between the parties. These lords met three days, and put forth many devices, but none took effect ; and in the mean season the King of England always fortified his host and field, and made dykes on the downs

that the Frenchmen should not suddenly come on them. These three days passed without any agreement; then the two cardinals returned to St Omer.

And when the French King saw that he could do nothing, the next day he dislodged betimes and took his way to Amiens, and gave every man leave to depart. When they within Calais saw their King depart, they made great sorrow. Some of the Englishmen followed the tail of the Frenchmen and won carts and carriages, horse, wine and other things, and took prisoners, whom they brought into the host before Calais.

How the town of Calais was given up to the King of England

After that the French King was thus departed from Sangate, they within Calais saw well how their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain, Sir John de Vienne, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host. When the King heard thereof, he sent thither Sir Walter Manny and Lord Basset.

Then Sir John de Vienne said to them, "Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the King my master hath sent me and others to this town, and commanded us to keep it in such wise that we take no blame nor suffer damage; and we have done all that lieth in our power. Now our succours have failed us, and we be so sore strained that we have not to live withal, but that we must all die or else go mad for famine, without the noble and gentle King of yours will take mercy on us; the which to do we require you to desire him, to have pity on us and to let

us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods that be therein, the which is great abundance."

Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the King our master, for he hath showed it unto us: know surely for truth it is not his mind that ye nor they within the town should depart so, but that ye all put yourselves wholly into his will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him and to put to death such as he list: for they of Calais have done him such contraries and despites, and have caused him to dispend so much goods, and lost him many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them."

Then the captain said, "Sir, this is too hard a matter to us: we are here within, a small number of knights and squires, who have truly served the King our master as well as ye serve yours in like case, and we have endured much pain and unease; but we shall yet endure as much pain as ever knights did, rather than consent that the humblest lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of us all. Therefore, sir, we pray you that of your compassion ye will go and speak to the King of England and desire him to have pity of us; for we trust there be in him so much gentleness that by the grace of God his purpose shall change."

Sir Walter Manny and Lord Basset returned to the King and declared to him all that had been said. The King said he would none otherwise but that they should yield them up simply to his pleasure.

Then Sir Walter said, "Sir, saving your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil ensample: if ye send any of us your servants into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of them in this town to death after they be

yielded ; for in like wise they will deal with us if the case fell like." The which words divers other lords that were present sustained and maintained.

Then the King said, "Sirs, I will not be alone against you all : therefore, Sir Walter Manny, ye shall go and say to the captain that all the grace that he shall find now in me is, that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come out bare-headed, bare-footed and bare-legged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themselves purely to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy."

Then Sir Walter returned and found Sir John de Vienne still on the wall, abiding for an answer ; then Sir Walter showed him all the grace that he could get of the King.

"Well," quoth Sir John, "Sir, I require you tarry here a certain space till I go into the town and show this to the commons of the town, who sent me hither." Then Sir John went unto the market-place, and sounded the common bell ; and straightway men and women assembled there. Then the captain made report of all that he had done, and said, "Sirs, it will be none otherwise ; therefore now take advice, and make a short answer."

Then all the people began to weep and to make such sorrow that there was not so hard a heart, if they had seen them, but would have had great pity of them ; the captain himself wept piteously.

At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace de St Pierre, rose up and said openly, "Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, either by famine or otherwise, when there is a means to save them :

I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that might keep them from such mischief. As for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, God would give me pardon and grace: wherefore, to save them, I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy." When he had thus said, every man worshipped him, and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore sighs.

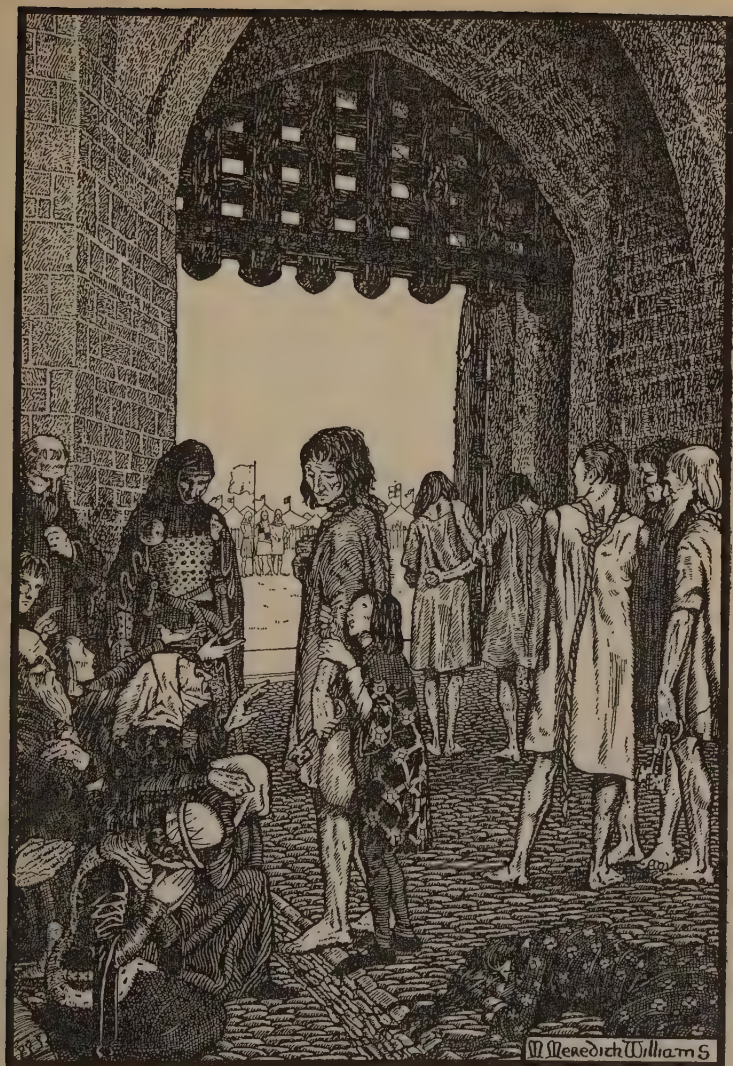
Then another honest burgess rose and said, "I will keep company with my gossip Eustace": he was called John d'Aire. Then rose up Jacques de Wissant, who was rich in goods and heritage; he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins. In likewise so did Peter de Wissant his brother. And then rose two other; they said they would do the same.

Then they went and apparelled them as the King desired. Then the captain went with them to the gate; there was great lamentation made of men, women and children at their departing; then the gate was opened, and he issued out with the six burgesses, and closed the gate again, so that they were between the gate and the barriers.

Then he said to Sir Walter Manny, "Sir, I deliver here to you as captain of Calais, by the whole consent of all the people of the town, these six burgesses; and I swear to you truly that they be and were to-day most honourable, rich and most notable burgesses of all the town of Calais; wherefore, gentle knight, I require you pray the King to have mercy on them, that they die not."

Quoth Sir Walter, "I cannot say what the King will do, but I shall do for them the best I can."

Then the barriers were opened; the six burgesses



M Meredith Williams

The Burgesses of Calais

went towards the King, and the captain entered again into the town.

When Sir Walter presented these burgesses to the King, they kneeled down and held up their hands, and said, "Gentle King, behold here we six, who were burgesses of Calais and great merchants; we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourselves clearly unto your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high noblesse."

Then all the earls and barons and others that were there wept for pity. The King looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man entreated the King for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf.

Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Ah, noble King, for God's sake restrain your ire; ye have the name of sovereign noblesse, therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor give cause to some to speak of you villainy: every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company."

But the King was still wroth, and commanded to send for the hangman, and said, "They of Calais caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in likewise."

Then the Queen kneeled down, and sore weeping said, "Ah, gentle sir, sith I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you; therefore now I humbly

beseech you, in the honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses."

The King beheld the Queen and stood still in a study a space, and then said, " Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place ; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you ; wherefore I give them to you, to do your pleasure with them."

Then the Queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure ; and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safe-guard and set at their liberty.

How the King of England repeopled the town of Calais with Englishmen

Thus the strong town of Calais was given up to King Edward of England the year of our Lord 1347, in the month of August.

The King of England called to him Sir Walter Manny and his two marshals, and said to them, " Sirs, take here the keys of the town and castle of Calais ; go and take possession there, and put in prison all the knights that be there ; and all other soldiers that came thither simply to win their living, cause them to quit the town, and also all other men, women and children, for I would repeople again the town with pure Englishmen."

So these three lords with a hundred with them went and took possession of Calais, and did put in prison Sir John de Vienne and other knights. Then they made all the soldiers to bring all their harness into a place appointed, and laid it all on a heap in the hall of Calais.

Then they made all manner of people to quit the town, and kept there no more persons but a priest and two other ancient personages, such as knew the heritages of the town, how they were divided. Then they prepared the castle to lodge the King and Queen, and prepared other houses for the King's company.

Then the King mounted on his horse and entered into the town with trumpets, tabours, and horns. The King gave to Sir Walter Manny divers fair houses, and to the Earl of Stafford, Sir Bartholemew Burghersh and to other lords, to repeople again the town. The King's mind was, when he came into England, to send out of London a six-and-thirty good burgesses to Calais to dwell there, and to do so much that the town might be peopled with pure Englishmen; the which intent the King fulfilled. Then the new town and buildings of wood that were made without the town were pulled down, and the castle that stood on the haven; and the great timber and stones were brought into the town. Then the King ordained men to keep the gates, walls and barriers, and amended all things within the town.

And Sir John de Vienne and his company were sent into England, and were half a year at London; then they were put to ransom. Methinks it was great pity of the burgesses and other men of the town of Calais, and women and children, when they had perforce to forsake their houses, heritages and goods, and to bear away nothing; and they had no restorement of the French King, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of them went to St Omer.

The Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France in legation and was with the French King his cousin in the city of Amiens, he purchased so much that a truce was taken between the kings of England and of

France, their countries and heritages, to endure two years. To this truce all parties were agreed. Then the King of England and the Queen returned into England, and the King made captain of Calais Sir Aymery de Pavie, a Lombard born, whom the King had greatly advanced. Then the King sent from London six-and-thirty burgesses to Calais, who were rich and sage, and their wives and children, and daily increased the number ; for the King granted there such liberties and franchises that men were glad to go and dwell there

VII

THE BATTLE OF CALAIS

How Sir Aymery de Pavie sold the town of
Calais, whereof he was captain, to
the Lord Geoffrey de Charny

ALL this season in the town of St Omer was the Lord Geoffrey de Charny, who kept the frontiers there, using everything touching the war as though he were King. Then he bethought him how that Lombards by nature be covetous, wherefore he thought to assay to get the town of Calais, whereof Aymery de Pavie, Lombard, was captain. By reason of the truce they of St Omer might to go Calais, and they of Calais to St Omer, so that daily they resorted together to do their merchandises. Then Sir Geoffrey secretly fell in treaty with Sir Aymery de Pavie, so that he promised to deliver into the Frenchmens' hands the town and castle of Calais for twenty thousand crowns.

This was not done so secretly but that the King of England had knowledge thereof; then the King sent for Aymery de Pavie to come into England to Westminster to speak with him; and so he came over, for he thought that the King had not had knowledge of that matter, he had done it so secretly.

When the King saw him, he took him apart, and said, "Thou knowest well I have given thee in keeping the thing in this world that I love best, next my wife and

children, that is to say, the town and castle of Calais ; and thou hast sold it to the Frenchmen ; wherefore thou hast well deserved to die."

Then the Lombard kneeled down, and said, " Ah, noble King, I cry you mercy : it is true that ye say ; but, sir, the bargain may well be broken, for as yet I have received never a penny."

The King, who had loved well the Lombard, said, " Aymery, I will that thou go forward on thy bargain, and the day that thou appointest to deliver the town, let me have knowledge thereof before ; and on this condition I forgive thee thy trespass."

So thereupon the Lombard returned again to Calais, and kept this matter secret. Then Sir Geoffrey de Charny thought well to have Calais, and assembled a certain number secretly, a five hundred spears ; there were but a few that knew what he purposed. I think he never made the French King of knowledge thereof ; for if he had, I trow the King would not have consented thereto because of the truce. This Lombard had appointed to deliver the castle the first night of the new year ; the Lombard sent word thereof by a brother of his to the King of England.

Of the battle at Calais between the King of England, under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, and Sir Geoffrey de Charny and the Frenchmen

When the King of England knew the certain day appointed, he departed out of England with three hundred men of arms and six hundred archers, and took shipping at Dover, and in the evening arrived at Calais so secretly that no man knew thereof, and went and

laid his men in bushments in the chambers and towers within the castle.

Then the King said to Sir Walter Manny, "I will that ye be chief of this enterprise; for I and my son the Prince will fight under your banner."

The Lord Geoffrey de Charny and all his company the last day of December at night departed from Arras, and came near to Calais about the hour of midnight, and then tarried there and sent two squires to the postern gate of the castle of Calais, and there they found Sir Aymery ready. Then they demanded of him if it were time that the Lord Geoffrey should come, and the Lombard said, "Yes." Then they returned to their master and showed him as the Lombard said.

Then he made his men pass Nieulet bridge in good order of battle, and sent twelve knights with a hundred men of arms to go and take possession of the castle of Calais; for he thought well if he might have the castle he should soon get the town, seeing he had so good a number of men with him, and daily might have more when he list. And he delivered to the Lord Oudart de Renty twenty thousand crowns to pay the Lombard; and Sir Geoffrey halted still in the fields privily. His intent was to enter into the town by the gate, or else not at all.

The Lombard had let down the bridge of the postern and suffered the hundred men of arms to enter peaceably. And Sir Oudart delivered at the postern twenty thousand crowns in a bag to the Lombard, who said, "I trust all be here, for I have no leisure now to tell them; it will be anon day." Then he cast the bag with the crowns into a coffer, and said to the Frenchmen, "Come on, sirs, ye shall enter into the donjon, then shall you be sure to be lords of the castle."

They went thither, and he drew apart the bar, and the gate opened. Within this tower was the King of England with two hundred spears, who issued out with their swords and axes in their hands, crying, "Manny, Manny to the rescue! What, weeneth the Frenchmen with so few men to win the castle of Calais!"

The Frenchmen saw well that defence could not avail them; then they yielded themselves prisoners, so that there were but a few hurt. Then they were put into the same tower in prison. And the Englishmen issued out of the castle into the town, and mounted on their horses; then the archers rode to the Boulogne gate, where Sir Geoffrey was with his banner before him. Said he to the knights that were about him, "Without this Lombard open the gate shortly, we are like to die here for cold."

"Sir," said a knight, Pepin de Wierre, "Lombards are malicious people and subtle; he is now looking on your crowns to see if they be all good or not, and to reckon if he have his whole sum or no."

Therewith the King of England and the Prince his son were ready at the gate, under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, with divers other banners. Then the great gate was set open, and they all issued out. When the Frenchmen saw them issue, and heard them cry, "Manny to the rescue!" they knew well they were betrayed.

Then Sir Geoffrey said to his company, "Sirs, if we fly, we are clean lost: better were we to fight with a good heart, in trust the day shall be ours."

The Englishmen heard these words, and said, "By St George ye say truly: shame have he that flyeth!"

The Frenchmen alighted afoot and put their horses from them, and ordered themselves for battle. When

the King saw that, he stood still, and said, "Let us order ourselves for fight, for our enemies will abide us."

The King sent part of his company to Nieulet bridge, for he heard say there were a great number of Frenchmen. Then thither went a six banners and three hundred archers; and there they found two French lords keeping the bridge; and between the bridge and Calais there were many crossbows of St Omer and Aire; so there was a sore fray, and slain and drowned more than six hundred Frenchmen, for they were soon discomfited, and chased into the water.

This was early in the morning, but anon it was day. The Frenchmen kept their ground a while, and many feats of arms were there done on both sides; but the Englishmen ever increased by coming out of Calais, and the Frenchmen abated. Then the Frenchmen saw well they could not long keep the bridge; and such as had their horses by them, mounted and showed their horses' heels, and the Englishmen after them in chase; there was many a man overthrown. They that were well horsed saved themselves; many were taken by their own hardihood that might have been saved if they had list. When it was fair day so that every man might know other, then some of the French knights and squires assembled together again, and turned and fought fiercely with the Englishmen, so that there were some of the Frenchmen that took good prisoners, whereby they had both honour and profit.

Now let us speak of the King, who was there unknown of his enemies, under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, and was afoot among his men to seek his enemies, who stood close together with their spears a five foot long. At the first meeting there was a sore encounter, and the King lighted on the Lord Eustace de Ribemont,

who was a strong and a hardy knight : there was a long fight between him and the King, that it was joy to behold them ; at last they were put asunder, for a great company of both parties came the same way and fought there fiercely together. The Frenchmen did there right valiantly, but specially the Lord Eustace de Ribemont, who strake the King the same day two times down on his knees ; but finally the King himself took him prisoner, and so he yielded his sword to the King, and said, " Sir knight, I yield me as your prisoner." He knew not as then that it was the King.

And so the King of England won the day, and all that were there with Sir Geoffrey were slain or taken ; there was slain Sir Pepin de Wierre, and Sir Geoffrey taken. This day's work was achieved beside Calais, the year of our Lord 1348, the last day of December toward the next morning.

Of a chaplet of pearls that the King of England gave to Sir Eustace de Ribemont

When this battle was done, the King returned again to the castle of Calais, and caused all the prisoners to be brought thither. Then the Frenchmen knew well that the King had been there personally himself under the banner of Sir Walter Manny.

The King said he would give them all that night a supper in the castle of Calais : the hour of supper came and tables were covered, and the King and his knights were there ready, every man in new apparel, and the Frenchmen also were there, and made good cheer, though they were prisoners. The King sat down, and the lords and knights about him right honourably : the Prince, lords and knights of England served the King at the first

mess, and at the second they sat down at another table ; they were all well served, and at great leisure.

Then when supper was done, and the tables taken away, the King tarried still in the hall with his knights and with the Frenchmen, and he was bare-headed saving a chaplet of fine pearls that he ware on his head. Then the King went from one to another of the Frenchmen, and when he came to Sir Geoffrey de Charny, a little he changed his countenance and looked on him, and said, " Sir Geoffrey, by reason I should love you but little, when ye would steal by night from me that thing which I have so dearly bought and which hath cost me so much. I am right joyous and glad that I have taken you in the act : ye would have a better market than I have had, when ye thought to have Calais for twenty thousand crowns ; but God hath holpen me, and ye have failed of your purpose." And therewith the King went from him, and he gave never a word to answer.

Then the King came to Sir Eustace de Ribemont, and joyously to him he said, " Sir Eustace, ye are the knight in the world that I have seen most valiant to assail his enemies and defend himself ; I never found knight that ever gave me so much ado, body to body, as ye have done this day ; wherefore I give you the prize above all the knights of my court by right sentence." Then the King took the chaplet that was upon his head, being both fair, goodly and rich, and said, " Sir Eustace, I give you this chaplet for the best doer in arms this day past of either party ; and I desire you to bear it this year for the love of me. I know well ye be fresh and amorous, and oftentimes be among ladies and damosels ; say wheresoever ye come, that I did give it you ; and I quit you your prison and ransom, and ye shall depart to-morrow, if it please you."

VIII

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS

Of the assembly that the French King made
to fight with the Prince of Wales

IN the year of our Lord 1356 the Prince of Wales, with a good number of men of war, was far entered into the country approaching the good country of Berry ; then King John of France said and sware that he would ride and fight with him wheresoever he found him. And the King made a special assembly of all nobles and such as held fiefs of him : his commandment was, that, all manner of excuses laid apart, every man on pain of his displeasure should meet with him in the marches of Blois and Touraine, for the intent to fight with the Englishmen. And the King, to make the more haste, departed from Paris and rode to Chartres, to hear the better of surety what the Englishmen did. There he rested, and daily men of war resorted thither from all parts.

The King sent also great provision to all his fortresses and garrisons in Anjou, Poitou, Maine and Touraine, and into all the fortresses where he thought the Englishmen should pass, to the intent to close the passages from them and to keep them from victuals, that they should find no forage for them or their horses. Howbeit, for all that, the Prince and his company, who were to the number of two thousand men of arms and six

thousand archers, rode at their ease and had victuals enough, for they found the country of Auvergne right plentiful ; but they would not tarry there, but went forth to make war on their enemies. They burnt and wasted the country as much as they might, for when they were entered into a town and found it well replenished of all things, they tarried there a two or three days to refresh them ; when they departed they would destroy all the residue, strike out the heads of the vessels of wine, and burn wheat, barley and oats, and all other things, to the intent that their enemies should have no aid thereof. And then they rode forth, and ever found good countries and plentiful ; for in Berry, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou and Maine is a very plentiful country for men of war.

Then came tidings to the Prince how the French King was at Chartres with a great assembly of men of war, and how that all the towns and passages above the river of Loire were closed and kept that none could pass the river ; and the Prince was counselled to return and to pass by Touraine and Poitou, and so that way to Bordeaux. Then the Prince took that way and returned.

Of the great host that the French King brought to the battle of Poitiers

The French King, who was at Chartres, departed and came to Blois, and then to Loches ; and then he heard how that the Prince was at Touraine, and how that he was returning by Poitou : ever the Englishmen were coasted by certain expert knights of France, who alway made report to the King what the Englishmen did. Then the King and his men came to La Haye

in Touraine; they were in number a twenty thousand men of arms besides others: there were a six-and-twenty dukes and earls, and more than sixscore banners, and the four sons of the King, who were but young, the Duke Charles of Normandy, the Lord Louis, that was from thenceforth Duke of Anjou, the Lord John, Duke of Berry, and the Lord Philip, who was after Duke of Burgundy.

The same season Pope Innocent the Sixth sent the Lord Bertrand, Cardinal of Perigord, and the Lord Nicholas, Cardinal of Urgel, into France to treat for a peace between the French King and all his enemies. Then the Cardinal of Perigord went to Tours, and there he heard how the French King hasted sore to find the Englishmen; then he rode to Poitiers, for he heard how both the hosts drew thitherward.

The French King heard how the Prince hasted greatly to return, and the King feared that he should escape him; and so he departed from La Haye, and all his company, and rode to Chauvigny, where he tarried that Thursday, and the next day passed the river of Vienne at the bridge there, weening that the Englishmen had been before him, but they were not. Howbeit they pursued after, and passed the bridge that day more than threescore thousand horses, and divers others passed at Châtelleraut, and ever as they passed they took their way to Poitiers.

On the other side the Prince wist not truly where the Frenchmen were, but supposed that they were not far off, for they could find no more forage, whereby they had great default of victual in their host, and some of them repented that they had destroyed so much as they had done before, when they were in Berry, Anjou and Touraine, and in that they had made no better provision.

The same Friday three great lords of France, the Lord of Craon, the Lord Raoul de Coucy, and the Earl of Joigny, tarried all day in the town of Chauvigny, and part of their companies ; on the Saturday they passed the bridge and followed the King, who was then a three leagues before, and took the way by a wood-side to go to Poitiers. The same Saturday the Prince and his company dislodged from a little village thereby, and sent before him certain scouts to see if they might find any adventure and to hear where the Frenchmen were : they were in number a threescore men of arms well horsed, and with them was the Lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt and the Lord John de Ghisteltes. And by adventure the Englishmen and Frenchmen met together by the foresaid wood-side.

The Frenchmen knew anon how they were their enemies ; then in haste they did on their helmets and displayed their banners, and came a great pace towards the Englishmen : they were in number a two hundred men of arms. When the Englishmen saw them, and that they were so great a number, then they determined to fly, and let the Frenchmen chase them ; for they knew well the Prince with his host was not far behind. Then they turned their horses, and took the corner of the wood ; and the Frenchmen after them, crying their cries, and making great noise. And as they chased, they came on the Prince's battle before they were ware thereof themselves. The Lord Raoul de Coucy with his banner went so far forward that he was under the Prince's banner ; there was a sore battle, and the knight fought valiantly ; howbeit he was there taken, and all the others taken or slain but a few that scaped.

And by the prisoners the Prince knew how the French King followed him in such wise that he could not

eschew the battle : then he assembled together all his men and commanded that no man should go before the marshals' banners. Thus the Prince rode that Saturday from the morning till it was against night, so that he came within two little leagues of Poitiers. Then the Prince sent forth four knights with two hundred men of arms to see if they might know what the Frenchmen did. These knights departed and rode so far that they saw the great battle of the King's ; they saw all the fields covered with men of arms. These Englishmen could not forbear, but set on the tail of the French host, and cast down many to the earth, and took divers prisoners, so that the host began to stir, and tidings thereof came to the French King as he was entering into the city of Poitiers. Then he returned again, and made all his host do the same ; so that Saturday it was very late before he was lodged in the field.

The English scouts returned again to the Prince, and showed him all that they saw and knew, and said how the French host was a great number of people.

" Well," said the Prince, " in the name of God let us now study how we shall fight with them at our advantage."

That night the Englishmen lodged in a strong place among hedges, vines and bushes, and their host was well watched ; and so was the French host.

Of the order of the Frenchmen before the battle of Poitiers

On the Sunday in the morning the French King, who had great desire to fight with the Englishmen, heard his mass in his pavilion and was houselled, and his four sons with him.

Then the King held a council, and it was ordained that all manner of men should draw into the field, and every lord display his banner and set forth in the name of God and St Denis.

Then trumpets blew up through the host, and every man mounted on horseback and went into the field, where they saw the King's banner wave with the wind. There might have been seen great nobles of fair harness and rich armoury of banners and pennons, for there was all the flower of France: there was none durst abide at home, without he would be shamed for ever. Then it was ordained by the advice of the constable and marshals to be made three battles, and in each sixteen thousand men, all mustered and passed for men of arms: the first battle the Duke of Orleans to govern, with thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons; the second, the Duke of Normandy and his two brethren, the Lord Louis and the Lord John; the third, the King himself.

And while that these battles were setting in array, the King called to him the Lord Eustace de Ribemont, the Lord John of Landas and the Lord Richard of Beaujeu, and said to them, "Sirs, ride on before to see the dealing of the Englishmen, what number they be, and by what means we may fight with them, either afoot or a-horseback."

These three knights rode forth; and the King was on a white courser, and said a-high to his men, "Sirs, among you, when ye be at Paris, at Chartres, at Rouen, or at Orleans, then ye do threat the Englishmen and desire to be in arms out against them: now ye be come thereto; I shall now show you them: now show forth your ill will that ye bear them, and revenge your displeasures and damages that they have done you; for without doubt we shall fight with them."

Such as heard him said, "Sir, in God's name so be it ; that would we see gladly."

Therewith the three knights returned again to the King, who demanded of them tidings.

Then Sir Eustace de Ribemont answered for all, and said, "Sir, we have seen the Englishmen : by estimation they be two thousand men of arms and four thousand archers and a fifteen hundred of others. Howbeit they be in a strong place ; and as far as we can imagine, they are in one battle : howbeit they be wisely ordered, and along the way they have fortified strongly the hedges and bushes. One part of their archers are along by the hedge, so that none can go nor ride that way but must pass by them : and that way must ye go, an ye purpose to fight with them. In this hedge there is but one entry and one issue by likelihood that four horsemen may ride abreast ; at the end of this hedge, where no man can go nor ride, there be men of arms afoot, and archers afore them, in the manner of a harrow, so that they will not be lightly discomfited."

"Well," said the King, "what will ye then counsel us to do ?"

Sir Eustace said, "Sir, let us all be afoot, except three hundred men of arms well horsed, of the best in your host and hardiest, to the intent that they may somewhat break through the archers ; and then your battles to follow on quickly afoot, and so to fight with their men of arms hand to hand. This is the best advice that I can give you : if any other think any other way better, let him speak."

The King said, "Thus shall it be done."

Then the two marshals rode from battle to battle, and chose out a three hundred knights and squires of the most expert men of arms of all the host, every man

well armed and horsed. Also it was ordained that the battles of Germans should abide on horseback to aid the marshals, if need were.

King John of France was there armed, and twenty others in like apparel to his ; and he did put the guiding of his eldest son to the Lord of St Venant, the Lord of Landas and the Lord of Vaudenay. And the Lord Arnaud de Cervoles, called the Archpriest, was armed in the armour of the young Earl of Alençon.

How the Cardinal of Perigord treated to make agreement between the French King and the Prince before the battle of Poitiers

When the French King's battles were ordered, and every lord under his banner among his own men, then it was commanded that every man should cut his spear to a five foot long, and every man put off his spurs.

Thus as they were ready to approach, the Cardinal of Perigord came in great haste to the King : he came the same morning from Poitiers. He kneeled down to the King and held up his hands, and desired him for God's sake a little to abstain setting forward till he had spoken with him. Then he said, " Sir, ye have here all the flower of your realm against a handful of Englishmen, as compared with your company ; and, sir, if ye may have them accorded to you without battle, it shall be more profitable and honourable to have them by that manner rather than to adventure so noble chivalry as ye have here present. Sir, I beseech you, in the name of God and humility, that I may ride to the Prince, and show him what danger ye have him in."

The King said, " It pleaseth me well ; but return again shortly."

The Cardinal departed, and diligently he rode to the Prince, who was among his men afoot : then he alighted, and the Prince received him courteously.

Then the Cardinal, after his salutation, said, "Certainly, fair son, if you and your council consider justly the puissance of the French King, ye will suffer me to treat to make a peace between you, an I may."

The Prince, who was young and lusty, said, "Sir, the honour of me and of my people saved, I will gladly fall to any reasonable way."

Then the Cardinal said, "Sir, ye say well, and I shall accord you, an I can ; for it should be great pity if so many noble men and others as be here on both sides should come together by battle."

Then the Cardinal rode again to the King, and said, "Sir, ye need not to make any great haste to fight with your enemies, for they cannot fly from you though they would, they be in such a ground : wherefore, sir, I require you forbear for this day till to-morrow the sun-rising."

The King was loath to agree thereto, for some of his council would not consent to it ; but finally the Cardinal showed such reasons that the King accorded that respite. And in the same place there was pitched a pavilion of red silk, fresh and rich ; and the King gave leave for that day every man to draw to his lodgings, except the constable's and marshals' battles.

That Sunday all the day the Cardinal travailed in riding from the one host to the other gladly to agree them ; but the French King would not agree without he might have four of the principal Englishmen at his pleasure, and the Prince and all the others to yield themselves simply : howbeit there were many great offers made. The Prince offered to render into the King's

hands all that ever he had won in that voyage, towns and castles, and to quit all prisoners that he or any of his men had taken in that season, and also to swear not to be armed against the French King for seven year after ; but the King and his council would none thereof : the uttermost that he would do was that the Prince and a hundred of his knights should yield themselves prisoners, the which the Prince would in no wise agree unto.

In the mean season that the Cardinal rode thus between the hosts in trust to do some good, certain knights of France and of England both rode forth the same Sunday, because it was truce for that day, to coast the hosts and to behold the dealing of their enemies. So it fortun'd that Sir John Chandos rode the same day coasting the French host, and in like manner the Lord of Clermont, one of the French marshals, had ridden forth and aviewed the state of the English host ; and as these two knights returned towards their hosts, they met together. Each of them bare one manner of device, a blue Lady embroidered in a sunbeam, above on their apparel.

Then the Lord of Clermont said, " Chandos, how long have ye taken on you to bear my device ? "

" Nay, ye bear mine," said Chandos, " for it is as well mine as yours."

" I deny that," said Clermont ; " an it were not for the truce this day between us, I should make it good on you forthwith that ye have no right to bear my device."

" Ah, sir," said Chandos, " ye shall find me to-morrow ready to prove by feat of arms that it is as well mine as yours."

Then Clermont said, " Chandos, these be well the

words of you Englishmen ; for ye can devise nothing new, but take for your own from others all that ye see is good and fair."

So they departed without any more doing, and each of them returned to their host.

The Cardinal of Perigord could in no wise that Sunday make any agreement between the parties, and when it was near night he returned to Poitiers. That night the Frenchmen took their ease : they had provision enough, and the Englishmen had great default ; they could get no forage, nor could they depart thence without danger of their enemies. That Sunday the Englishmen made great dykes and hedges about their archers to be the stronger ; and on the Monday in the morning the Prince and his company were ready apparelled as they were before, and about the sun-rising in like manner were the Frenchmen.

The same morning betimes the Cardinal came again to the French host and thought by his preaching to pacify the parties ; but the Frenchmen said to him, " Return whither ye will : bring hither no more words of treaty or peace : an ye love yourself, depart shortly."

When the Cardinal saw that he travailed in vain, he took leave of the King, and then he went to the Prince, and said, " Sir, do what ye can, there is no remedy but to abide the battle, for I can find none accord in the French King."

Then the Prince said, " The same is our intent, and all our people's : God help the right."

So the Cardinal returned to Poitiers. In his company there were certain knights and squires, men of arms, who were more favourable to the French King than to the Prince ; and when they saw that the parties

should fight, they stole from their masters, and went to the French host; and they made their captain the Castellan of Amposta, who was there with the Cardinal, who knew nothing thereof till he was come to Poitiers.

The certainty of the order of the Englishmen was showed to the French King, except they had ordained three hundred men a-horseback, and as many archers a-horseback, to coast under cover of the mountain and to strike into the battle of the Duke of Normandy, who was under the mountain afoot. This ordinance they had made of new, so that the Frenchmen knew not of it. The Prince was with his battle down among the vines, and had closed in the weakest part with their carriages.

Now will I name some of the principal lords and knights that were there with the Prince: the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Oxford, the Lord John Chandos, the Lord Richard Stafford, the Lord Reginald Cobham, the Lord James Audley, the Lord Peter his brother, the Lord Basset, the Lord Warren, the Lord Delaware, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Bartholemew Burghersh, the Lord Stephen Cosington, the Lord Bradestan and other Englishmen; and of Gascony there was the Lord of Pommiers, the Captal de Buch, the Lord John of Chaumont, and others that I cannot name; and of Hainaulters, the Lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, the Lord John de Ghisteltes and other strangers. All the Prince's company passed not an eight thousand men, one and other; and the Frenchmen were a sixty thousand fighting men, whereof there were more than three thousand knights.

Of the battle of Poitiers, between the Prince of Wales and the French King

When the Prince saw that he should have battle, and that the French King did set but little store by him, he said then to his men, "Now, sirs, though we be but a small company as compared with the puissance of our enemies, let us not be abashed therefore; for the victory lieth not in the multitudes of people, but where God will send it. If it fortune that the day be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the King my father and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen; these shall revenge us. Therefore, sirs, for God's sake, I require you do your devoirs this day; for if God be pleased and St George, this day ye shall see me a good knight." These words and such others that the Prince spake comforted all his people.

Sir John Chandos that day never went from the Prince; nor also the Lord James Audley for a great season. But when he saw that they should needs fight, he said to the Prince, "Sir, I have served always truly my lord your father and you also, and shall do as long as I live: I say this because I made once a vow that the first battle that either the King your father or any of his children should be at, how that I would be one of the first setters-on, or else die in the doing. Therefore I require your Grace, as in reward for any service that ever I did to the King your father or to you, that you will give me licence to depart from you and to set myself whereas I may accomplish my vow."

The Prince accorded to his desire, and said, "Sir James, God give you this day that grace to be the best

knight above all others," and so took him by the hand.

Then the knight departed from the Prince, and went to the foremost front of all the battles, all only accompanied with four squires, who promised not to fail him. This Lord James was a right sage and a valiant knight, and by him was much of the host ordained and governed the day before. Thus Sir James was in the front of the battle, ready to fight with the battle of the marshals of France.

In likewise Sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt did his utmost to be one of the first to set on ; when Sir James Audley began to set forward to his enemies, it fortun'd to Sir Eustace as ye shall hear after. Ye have heard before how the Germans in the French host were appointed to be still a-horseback. Sir Eustace, being a-horseback, laid his spear in the rest and ran into the French battle ; and then a knight of Germany, called the Lord Louis de Recombes, when he saw the Lord Eustace come from his company, rode against him, and they met so rudely that both knights fell to the earth. The German was hurt in the shoulder, therefore he rose not so quickly as did Sir Eustace, who when he was up and had taken his breath, came to the other knight as he lay on the ground. But then five other knights of Germany came on him all at once, and bare him to the earth ; and so perforce there he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Earl of Nassau, who as then took no heed of him : and I cannot say whether they sware him prisoner or no, but they tied him to a cart and there let him stand.

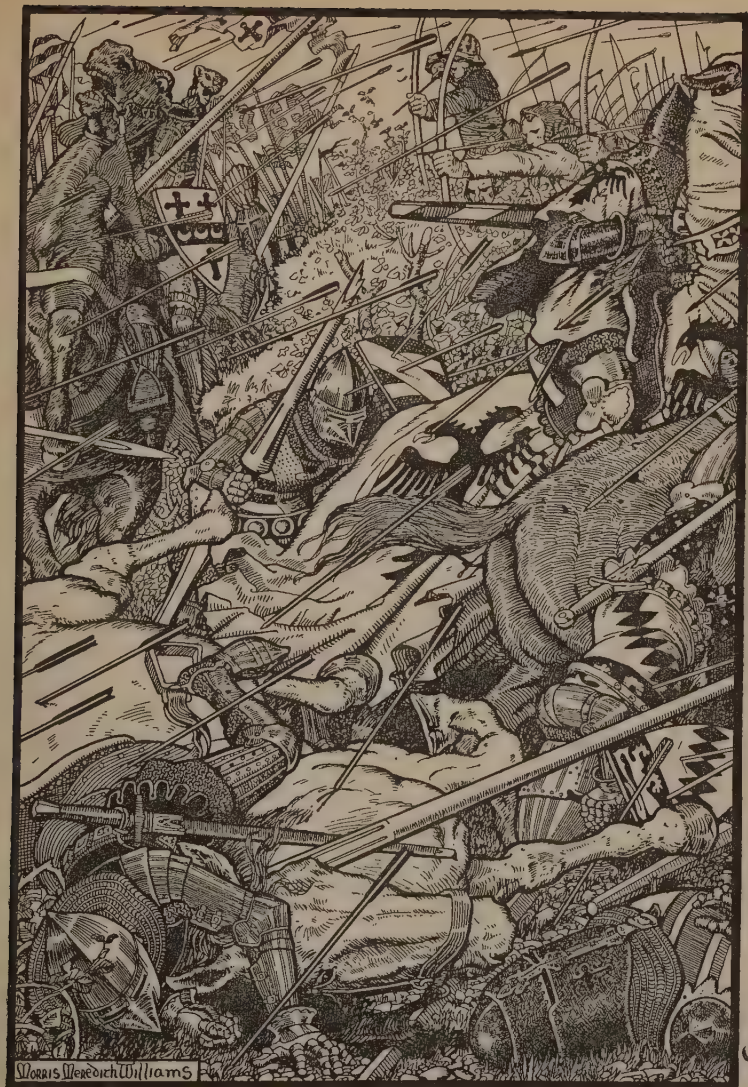
Then the battle began on all parts, and the battles of the marshals of France approached, and they set forth that were appointed to break the array of the archers ; they entered a-horseback into the way where

the great hedges on both sides were set full of archers. As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides, and did slay and hurt horses and knights, so that the horses, when they felt the sharp arrows, would in no wise go forward, but drew aback and flang and took on so fiercely that many of them fell on their masters, so that for the press they could not rise again ; insomuch that the marshals' battle could never come at the Prince. Certain knights and squires that were well horsed passed through the archers, and thought to approach to the Prince, but they could not.

The Lord James Audley with his four squires was in the front of that battle, and there did marvels in arms ; and by great prowess he came and fought with Sir Arnold d'Audrehem under his own banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there sore handled. The battle of the marshals began to disorder by reason of the shot of the archers with the aid of the men of arms, who came in among them and slew of them and did what they list. And there was Sir Arnold d'Audrehem taken prisoner by other men than by Sir James Audley or his four squires ; for that day he never took prisoner, but always fought and went on his enemies.

Also on the French side the Lord John Clermont fought under his own banner as long as he could endure, but there he was beaten down, and slain without mercy : some say it was because of the words that he had the day before with Sir John Chandos.

So within a short space the marshals' battle was discomfited, for they fell one upon another and could not go forth ; and the Frenchmen that were behind and could not get forward turned back, and came on the battle of the Duke of Normandy, the which was



The Archers began to shoot

great and thick, and afoot ; but anon they began to give way in the rear, for when they knew that the marshals' battle was discomfited, they took their horses and departed, he that might best. Also they saw a rout of Englishmen coming down a little mountain a-horseback, and many archers with them, who brake in on the side of the duke's battle. True, to say, the archers did their company that day great advantage, for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed ; and little by little the Englishmen won ground on them.

And when the men of arms of England saw that the marshals' battle was discomfited and that the Duke's battle began to disorder and open, they leapt then on their horses, the which they had ready by them ; then they assembled together and cried, " St George ! Guienne ! "

And Sir John Chandos said to the Prince, " Sir, take your horse and ride forth ; this day is yours. Get us to the French King's battle, for there lieth all the sore of the matter : I think verily by his valiantness he will not fly ; I trust we shall have him by the grace of God and St George, so he be well fought withal : and, sir, I heard you say that this day I should see you a good knight."

The Prince said, " Let us go forth ; ye shall not see me this day turn back." And he said, " Advance, banner, in the name of God and of St George ! "

The knight that bare it did his commandment : there was then a sore battle and a perilous, and many a man overthrown ; and he that was once down could not be raised again without great succour and aid.

As the Prince rode and entered in among his enemies, he saw on his right hand in a little bush, lying dead,

the Lord Robert of Duras and his banner by him, and a ten or twelve of his men about him. Then the Prince said to two of his squires and three archers, "Sirs, take the body of this knight on a targe and bear him to Poitiers, and present him from me to the Cardinal of Perigord, and say how I salute him by that token": and this was done. The Prince was informed that the Cardinal's men were on the field against him, the which was not pertaining to the right order of arms, for men of the Church that come and go for treaty of peace ought not to bear harness or fight for either of the sides: they ought to be indifferent. And because these men had done so, the Prince was displeased with the Cardinal, and therefore he sent unto him his nephew, the Lord Robert of Duras, dead. And the Castellan of Amposta was taken, and the Prince would have had his head stricken off, because he was pertaining to the Cardinal; but Sir John Chandos said, "Sir, suffer for a season, and peradventure the Cardinal will make such excuse that ye shall be content."

Then the Prince and his company came on the battle of the Duke of Athens, Constable of France; there was many a man slain and cast to the earth. As the Frenchmen fought in companies, they cried, "Montjoie! St Denis!" and the Englishmen, "St George! Guienne!"

Anon the Prince with his company met with the battle of Germans, whereof the Earl of Salzburg, the Earl of Nassau and the Earl of Nidau were captains, but in a short space they were put to flight. The archers shot so wholly together that none durst come in danger of them; they slew many a man that could not come to ransom. These three earls were there slain, and divers other knights and squires of their company. And there

was Sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt rescued by his own men and set on horseback, and after he did that day many feats of arms, and took good prisoners.

When the Duke of Normandy's battle saw the Prince approach, they thought to save themselves; and so the King's children, who were right young, believed their governors, and so departed from the field, and with them more than eight hundred spears that strake no stroke that day. Howbeit the Lord Guichard d'Angle and the Lord John of Saintr  would not fly, but entered into the thickest press of the battle. The King's three sons took the way to Chauvigny; and the Lord John of Landas, and the Lord Theobald of Vaudenay, who were set to wait on the Duke of Normandy, when they had brought him a long league from the battle, then they took leave of the Duke, and desired the Lord of St Venant that he should not leave the Duke but bring him in safeguard, whereby he should win more thanks of the King than if he were to abide still in the field. Then they met also the Duke of Orleans and a great company with him, who were also departed from the field unhurt; yet there were many good knights and squires, though that their masters departed from the field, they had rather have died than to have had any reproach.

Then the King's battle came on the Englishmen; there was a sore fight, and many a great stroke given and received. The King and his youngest son met with the battle of the English marshals, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Suffolk, and with them the Gascons, the Captal de Buch, the Lord of Pommiers and other lords. To the French party there came in time enough the Lord John of Landas and the Lord of Vaudenay; they lighted afoot, and went into the King's

battle. And also in the King's battle there was the Earl Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiantly ; but when he saw the discomfiture, he departed and saved himself, for in no wise would he be taken of the Englishmen ; he had rather been there slain.

On the English part the Lord James Audley with the aid of his four squires fought always in the chief of the battle ; he was sore hurt in the body and in the visage. As long as his breath served him he fought : at last at the end of the battle his four squires took and brought him out of the field, and laid him under a hedgeside for to refresh him ; and they unarmed him, and bound up his wounds as well as they could.

On the French part King John was that day a full right good knight : if the fourth part of his men had done their devoirs as well as he did, the day had been his by all likelihood. Howbeit they were all slain and taken that were there with the King, except a few that saved themselves. There were slain the Duke Peter of Bourbon, the Lord Richard of Beaujeu, the Lord of Landas, the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, the Lord Eustace de Ribemont, and many others, and there were taken prisoners the Lord of Vaudenay, the Lord of Pompadour, and the Archpriest, sore hurt, amongst others : there were at that burnt slain and taken more than two hundred knights.

Of two Frenchmen that fled from the battle of Poitiers, and two English- men that followed them

Among the battles, encounterings, chases and pursuits that were made that day, it fortun'd to Sir Edward

de Renty when he departed, and was gone out of the field a league, because he saw the day was lost without recovery, that an English knight pursued him, and ever cried to him and said, "Return again, sir knight; it is a shame to fly away thus."

Then Sir Edward turned, and the English knight thought to have stricken him with his spear in the targe, but he failed, for Sir Edward swerved aside from the stroke; but he missed not the English knight, for he strake him such a stroke on the helm with his sword that he was stunned, and fell from his horse to the earth and lay still.

Then Sir Edward alighted and came to him, and said, "Yield you, rescue or no rescue, or else I shall slay you." The Englishman yielded, and went with him, and afterward was ransomed.

Also it fortun'd that another squire of Picardy, called John de Hellenes, was fled from the battle, and met with his page, who delivered him a fresh horse, whereon he rode away alone. The same season there was in the field the Lord Berkeley of England, a young lusty knight, who the same day had reared his banner for the first time; and he all alone pursued the said John de Hellenes. And when he had followed the space of a league, the said John turned again, and laid his sword in the rest instead of a spear, and so came running toward the Lord Berkeley, who lifted up his sword to have stricken the squire; but when the squire saw the stroke come, he turned from it, so that the Englishman lost his stroke, and John strake him on the arm as he passed, so that the Lord Berkeley's sword fell into the field.

When he saw his sword down, he lighted suddenly off his horse, and came to the place where his sword

lay ; and as he stooped down to take it up, the French squire did thrust his sword at him, and by hap strake him through both the thighs, so that the knight fell to the earth and could not help himself. And John alighted off his horse, and took the knight's sword that lay on the ground, and came to him and demanded if he would yield him or not. The knight then demanded his name.

"Sir," said he, "I am called John de Hellenes : but what is your name ?"

"In truth," said the knight, "my name is Thomas, and I am Lord of Berkeley, a fair castle on the river of Severn in the marches of Wales."

"Well, sir," quoth the squire, "then ye shall be my prisoner, and I shall bring you in safeguard, and shall see that you be healed of your hurt."

"Well," said the knight, "I am content to be your prisoner, for ye have by law of arms won me." There he sware to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue.

Then the squire drew forth the sword out of the knight's thighs, and the wound was open ; then he wrapped and bound the wound, and set him on his horse, and so brought him fair and easily to Châtelleraut, and there tarried more than fifteen days for his sake, and did get him remedy for his hurt ; and when he was somewhat amended, then he gat him a litter, and so brought him at his ease to his house in Picardy. There he was more than a year till he was perfectly whole. And when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles ; and so this squire was made a knight by reason of the profit that he had of the Lord Berkeley.

How King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers

Oftentimes the adventures of love and of war are more fortunate and marvellous than any man can think or wish : truly this battle, the which was near to Poitiers in the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was right great and perilous, and many deeds of arms there were done, the which all came not to knowledge. The fighters on both sides endured much pain : King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms ; he had an axe in his hands wherewith he defended himself, and fought in the breaking of the press.

The chase endured to the gates of Poitiers ; there were many slain and beaten down, horse and man, for they of Poitiers closed their gates and would suffer none to enter ; wherefore in the street before the gate was horrible murder, men hurt and beaten down. The Frenchmen yielded themselves as far off as they might know an Englishman : there were divers English archers that had four, five, or six prisoners.

The Lord of Pons, a great baron of Poitou, was there slain, and many other knights and squires ; and there was taken besides other lords, the Lord John of Saintr , but he was so sore hurt that he had never health after : he was reputed for one of the best knights in France. And there was left for dead among other dead men the Lord Guichard d'Angle, who fought that day by the King right valiantly ; and so did the Lord of Charny, on whom was great press, because he bare the sovereign banner of the King : his own banner was also in the field, the which was of gules, three scutcheons silver.

So many Englishmen and Gascons came to that

part that perforce they broke through the King's battle, so that the Frenchmen were so mingled among their enemies that sometime there were five men upon one gentleman. There was taken the Lord of Pompadour, and there was slain Sir Geoffrey de Charny with the King's banner in his hands.

Then there was a great press to take the King, and such as knew him cried, "Sir, yield you, or else ye are but dead!"

There was a knight of St Omer, retained in wages with the King of England, called Sir Denis Morbeke, who had served the Englishmen five year, because in his youth he had been banished the realm of France for a murder that he did at St Omer. It happened so well for him that he was next to the King when they were about to take him; he stepped forth into the press, and by strength of his body and arms he came to the French King, and said in good French, "Sir, yield you."

The King beheld the knight, and said, "To whom shall I yield me? Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales? If I might see him, I would speak with him."

Denis answered and said, "Sir, he is not here; but yield you to me, and I shall bring you to him."

"Who be you?" quoth the King.

"Sir," quoth he, "I am Denis Morbeke, a knight of Artois, but I serve the King of England because I am banished the realm of France, and have forfeited all that I had there."

Then the King gave him his right gauntlet, saying, "I yield me to you."

There was a great press about the King, for every man was eager to say, "I have taken him"; so that the King could not go forward with his young son the Lord Philip with him because of the press.

The Prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took that day great pleasure to fight and to chase his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was with him, all that day never left him nor took heed of taking of any prisoner; then at the end of the battle he said to the Prince, "Sir, it were good that you rested here, and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor can I see more banners or pennons of the Frenchmen: wherefore, sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed."

Then the Prince's banner was set up a-high on a bush, and trumpets and clarions began to sound. Then the Prince did off his basinet, and the knights for his body and they of his chamber were ready about him, and a red pavilion was pitched; and drink was brought forth to the Prince and such lords as were about him, the which still increased as they came from the chase: there they tarried, and their prisoners with them.

And when the two marshals were come to the Prince, he demanded of them if they knew any tidings of the French King. They answered and said, "Sir, we hear none of certainty, but we think verily he is either dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battles."

Then the Prince said to the Earl of Warwick and to Sir Reginald Cobham, "Sirs, I require you go forth and see what ye can know, that at your return ye may show me the truth."

These two lords took their horses, and departed from the prince and rode up a little hill to look about them; then they perceived a flock of men of arms coming together right slowly: there was the French King afoot in great peril, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters; they had taken him from Sir Denis Morbeke

perforce. And such as were most of force said, "I have taken him." "Nay," quoth another, "I have taken him"; so they strove which should have him.

Then the French King, to eschew that peril, said, "Sirs, strive not: lead me courteously, and my son, to my cousin the Prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord as to make you all rich."

The King's words somewhat appeased them; howbeit ever as they went they made riot and brawled for the taking of the King.

When the two foresaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said, "Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?"

"Sirs," said one of them, "it is for the French King, who is here taken prisoner, and there be more than ten knights and squires that challenge the taking of him and of his son."

Then the two lords entered into the press, and caused every man to draw aback, and commanded them in the Prince's name on pain of their heads to make no more noise nor to approach the King nearer without they were commanded. Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the King, and so brought him and his son in peace and rest to the Prince of Wales.

Of the gift that the Prince gave to the Lord Audley after the battle of Poitiers

As soon as the Earl of Warwick and Sir Reginald Cobham were departed from the Prince, as ye have heard before, then the Prince demanded of the knights that were about him for the Lord James Audley, if any knew anything of him. Some knights that were there

answered and said, "Sir, he is sore hurt, and lieth in a litter here beside."

"By my faith," said the Prince, "of his hurts I am right sorry; go and know if he may be brought hither, or else I will go and see him where he is."

Then two knights came to the Lord Audley, and said, "Sir, the Prince desireth greatly to see you; either ye must go to him, or else he will come to you."

"Ah, sir," said the knight, "I thank the Prince, when he thinketh on so poor a knight as I am." Then he called eight of his servants and caused them to bear him in his litter to the place where the Prince was.

Then the Prince took him in his arms and kissed him, and made him great cheer, and said, "Sir James, I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valiance ye have this day achieved grace and renown above us all, and ye are reputed for the most valiant of all."

"Ah, sir," said the knight, "ye say as it pleaseth you: I would it were so, and if I have this day anything advanced myself to serve you and to accomplish the vow that I made, it ought not to be reputed to me any prowess."

"Sir James," said the Prince, "I and all ours take you for the best doer in arms this day; and to the intent to furnish you the better to pursue the wars, I retain you for ever to be my knight, with five hundred marks of yearly revenues, the which I shall assign you on mine heritage in England."

"Sir," said the knight, "God grant me to deserve the great goodness that ye show me"; and so he took his leave of the Prince, for he was right feeble, and so his servants brought him to his lodging.

And as soon as he was gone, the Earl of Warwick and Sir Reginald Cobham returned to the Prince, and

presented to him the French King. The Prince made lowly reverence to the King, and caused wine and spices to be brought forth, and himself served the King in sign of great love.

How the Englishmen won greatly at the battle of Poitiers

Thus this battle was fought, as ye have heard, the which was in the fields of Maupertuis, a two leagues from Poitiers, the twenty-second day of September, the year of our Lord 1356. It began in the morning and ended at noon, but as then all the Englishmen were not returned from the chase, therefore the Prince's banner stood on a bush to draw all his men together; but it was nigh night before all came from the chase.

And, as it was reported, there was slain all the flower of France; and there was taken with the King and the Lord Philip his son a seventeen earls, beside barons, knights and squires; and slain a five or six thousand of one and other.

When every man was come from the chase, they had twice as many prisoners as they were in number in all; then it was counselled among them, because of the great charge and risk to keep so many, that they should put many of them to ransom incontinent in the field; and so they did. And the prisoners found the Englishmen and Gascons right courteous: there were many that day put to ransom and let go, all only on their promise of faith and troth to return again between that and Christmas to Bordeaux with their ransoms.

Then that night they lay in the field beside where the battle had been; some unarmed them, but not all,

and they unarmed all their prisoners ; and every man made good cheer to his prisoner ; for that day whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his, and he might quit or ransom him at his pleasure.

All such as were there with the Prince were all made rich with honour and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that were there found : there was no man that did set anything by rich harness, whereof there was great plenty ; for the Frenchmen came thither richly beseen, weening to have won the day.

How the Lord James Audley gave to his four squires the five hundred marks of revenues that the Prince had given him

When Sir James Audley was brought to his lodging, then he sent for Sir Peter Audley his brother, and for the Lord Bartholemew Burghersh, Sir Stephen Cosington, the Lord Willoughby, and the Lord Ralph Ferrers : all these were of his lineage. And then he called before them his four squires, that had served him that day well and truly.

Then he said to the lords, “Sirs, it hath pleased my lord the Prince to give me five hundred marks of revenues by year in heritage, for the which I have done him but small service with my body. Sirs, behold here these four squires, who have always served me truly, and specially this day : that honour that I have is by their valiantness, wherefore I will reward them. I give and resign into their hands the gift that my lord the Prince hath given me of five hundred marks of yearly revenues, to them and to their heirs for ever, in like manner as it was given me ; I clearly disinherit me thereof, and

inherit them, without any right of recall or other condition."

The lords and others that were there, every man beheld other, and said among themselves, "It cometh of a great nobleness to give this gift." They answered him with one voice, "Sir, be it as God will; we shall bear witness in this behalf wheresoever we be come."

Then they departed from him, and some of them went to the Prince, who the same night would make a supper to the French King and to the other prisoners; for they had then enough to do so withal of what the Frenchmen brought with them; for the Englishmen wanted victuals before; some for three days before had had no bread.

How the Prince made a supper to the French King the same day of the battle

The same day of the battle at night the Prince made a supper in his lodging to the French King and to the most part of the great lords that were prisoners. The Prince made the King and his son, the Lord James of Bourbon, the Lord John d'Artois, the Earl of Tancarville, the Earl of Estampes, the Earl of Dammartin, the Earl of Joinville and the Lord of Partenay to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights and squires at other tables. And always the Prince served before the King, as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the King's board for any desire that the King could make: but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the King was.

Then he said to the King, "Sir, for God's sake make none ill nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will; for, sir, surely the King

my father shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methinks ye ought to rejoice, though the day be not as ye would have had it, for ye have won the high renown of prowess and have passed this day in valiantness all other of your side. Sir, I say not this to mock you ; for all that be on our side, that saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet."

Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur and said among themselves how the Prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God send him life and to persevere in such good fortune.

How the Prince returned to Bordeaux after the battle of Poitiers

When supper was done, every man went to his lodging with their prisoners. The same night they put many to ransom, and believed them on their faith and troth, and ransomed them but easily ; for they said they would set no knight's ransom so high but that he might pay at his ease and maintain still his degree.

The next day when they had heard mass, and taken some repast, then they took their horses and rode toward Poitiers, and passed by the town without any approaching ; for they were so laden with gold, silver, and prisoners that in their returning they assaulted no fortress. They thought it a great deed if they might bring the French King, with their other prisoners and riches that they had won, in safe-guard to Bordeaux ; but they found no encounterers, for all the country was so afraid that every man drew to the fortresses.

As the Prince rode, it was showed him how the Lord James Audley had given to his four squires the gift of the five hundred marks that he had given unto him. Then the Prince sent for him, and he was brought in his litter to the Prince, who received him courteously, and said, "Sir James, we have knowledge that the revenues that we gave you, as soon as ye came to your lodging, you gave the same to four squires : we would know why ye did so, and whether the gift was agreeable to you or not."

"Sir," said the knight, "it is of truth I have given it to them, and I shall show you why I did so. These four squires that be here present have a long season served me well and truly in many great businesses ; and, sir, at this last battle they served me in such wise that an they had never done aught else I was bound to reward them, and before the same day they had never anything of me in reward. Sir, I am but a man alone, but by the aid and comfort of them I took on me to accomplish my vow long before made : I had been dead in the battle an they had not been there. Wherefore, sir, when I considered the love that they bare unto me, I had not been courteous if I had not rewarded them. I thank God I have had, and shall have, enough as long as I live ; I will never be abashed for lack of goods. Sir, if I have done this without your pleasure, I require you to pardon me ; for, sir, both I and my squires shall serve you as well as ever we did."

Then the Prince said, "Sir James, for anything that ye have done I cannot blame you, but give you good thank therefor ; and for the valiantness of these squires, whom ye praise so much, I confirm your gift to them, and I will render again to you six hundred marks in like manner as ye had the other."

Thus the Prince and his company did so much that they passed through Poitou and Saintonge without damage, and came to the good city of Bordeaux. It cannot be recorded the great feast and cheer that they of the city with the clergy made to the Prince, and how honourably they were there received. The Prince brought the French King into the abbey of St Andrew, and there they lodged both, the King in one part and the Prince in the other. The Prince bought of the lords, knights and squires of Gascony the most part of the earls of the realm of France, such as were prisoners, and paid ready money for them.

There were divers questions and challenges made between the knights and squires of Gascony for taking of the French King ; howbeit Denis Morbeke, by right of arms and by true tokens that he showed, challenged him for his prisoner. Another squire of Gascony, called Bernard de Trouttes, said how he had right to him ; there was much ado and many words before the Prince and other lords that were there ; and because these two challenged each other to fight in that quarrel, the Prince caused the matter to rest till they came into England, and that no declaration should be made but afore the King of England his father. But because the French King himself aided to sustain the challenge of Denis Morbeke, for he inclined more to him than to any other, the Prince therefore privily caused to be delivered to the said Sir Denis two thousand nobles to maintain withal his estate.

Anon, after the Prince came to Bordeaux, the Cardinal of Perigord came thither, who was sent from the Pope in legation as it was said ; he was there more than fifteen days before the Prince would speak with him, because of the Castellan of Amposta and his men, who were

against him in the battle of Poitiers. The Prince believed that the Cardinal sent them thither; but the Cardinal did so much by the means of the Lord of Chaumont, the Lord of Montferrant, and the Captal de Buch, his cousins, who showed so good reasons to the Prince, that he was content to hear him speak. And when he was before the Prince, he excused himself so sagely that the Prince and his council held him excused, and so he fell again into the Prince's love, and redeemed out his men by reasonable ransoms; and the Castellán was set to a ransom of ten thousand franks, the which he paid after. Then the Cardinal began to treat on the deliverance of the French King, but I pass it briefly because nothing was done.

Thus the Prince, the Gascons and Englishmen tarried still at Bordeaux till it was Lent, in great mirth and revel, and spent foolishly the gold and silver that they had won. In England also there was great joy when they heard tidings of the battle of Poitiers, of the discomfiting of the Frenchmen, and taking of the King: great solemnities were made in all churches, and great fires and wakes throughout all England. The knights and squires, such as were come home from that journey, were much made of, and praised more than other

How the Prince conveyed the French King from Bordeaux into England

Then, when the winter was passed, the Prince of Wales and such as were with him at Bordeaux ordained for ships to convey the French King and his son and all other prisoners into England. Then they took the sea, and were on the sea eleven days, and on the twelfth day they arrived at Sandwich.

At St Thomas of Canterbury the French King and the Prince made their offerings, and then rode to Rochester and to Dartford, and the fourth day to London, where they were honourably received, for the King of England had commanded them of London to prepare them and their city to receive such a man as the French King was. The French King rode through London on a white courser, well apparelled, and the Prince on a little black palfrey by him : thus he was conveyed along the city till he came to the Savoy, the which house pertained to the heritage of the Duke of Lancaster. There the French King kept his house, and thither came to see him the King and the Queen of England oftentimes, and made him great feast and cheer.

Anon after, the French King was removed from the Savoy to the castle of Windsor, and all his household, and went a-hunting and a-hawking thereabout at his pleasure, and the Lord Philip his son with him. And all the other prisoners abode still at London, and went to see the King at their pleasure, all only on their word of faith.

IX

CHANDOS AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

How Sir John Chandos brought the country of Anjou into great tribulation

IN the year of our Lord 1369 there fell divers adventures in Poitou, the which ought not to be forgotten ; for Sir John Chandos, who was seneschal there, like a hardy and valiant knight, ever desiring to find the Frenchmen to fight with them, assembled together at Poitiers a certain number of men of arms, saying how he would ride into Anjou, and return again by Touraine, and see the Frenchmen in the marches and frontiers there : the which purpose he signified to the Earl of Pembroke, who lay at Mortagne in garrison with two hundred spears : of the which tidings the earl was joyful, and was well content to have ridden forth.

But some of the knights of his council brake his purpose, and said, “ Sir, ye be as yet but young, your nobleness is yet to come ; and, sir, if you put yourself into the company of Sir John Chandos, whatsoever ye do he shall have the renown thereof, for ye shall be reputed but as his companion. Therefore, sir, it is better for you, sith ye be so great a lord as ye be, that ye do your enterprises by yourself apart, and let Sir John Chandos do his by himself, sith he is but a bachelor as compared with your estate.”

These words and others abated the earl's desire, so that thereby he had no more will to go forth with Sir John Chandos, and so made an excuse to him.

Howbeit Sir John Chandos would not break his purpose in going forth to do his enterprise, but departed with three hundred spears of knights and squires, and two hundred archers, and entered into Anjou, and did many evils in that good, plentiful country; and then they returned again and entered into the land of the Viscount of Rochechouart, and burnt and wasted the country all about.

Then Sir John Chandos had knowledge how the Marshal of France, Sir Louis de Sancerre, with a great number of men of war, was at La Haye in Touraine; then he had great desire to go thither, and sent word thereof to the Earl of Pembroke, desiring him to go with him to La Haye. And Chandos the herald went on this message, and found the earl at Mortagne, who had ready assembled a certain number to the intent to make a journey on his enemies; and the earl made his excuse by counsel of his knights, saying he might not come to Sir John Chandos at that time.

Then the herald returned and found his master at Châtelleraut, and there showed him his answer from the Earl of Pembroke. And when Sir John Chandos heard that, he was not well content in his mind, for he perceived well how the earl left that enterprise by presumption and pride. Then he said, "Well, in God's name, so be it"; and so gave leave to the most part of his company to depart, and he went again to the city of Poitiers.

How Sir Louis de Sancerre came on the Earl
of Pembroke and slew divers of his people,
and besieged the earl in a house

Now let us show somewhat of the Earl of Pembroke, what he did : as soon as he knew that Sir John Chandos was gone back again to Poitiers and had given leave to his men to depart, then the earl prepared to ride forth, and with him a three hundred spears, English and Poitevins. There were certain knights and squires of Poitou and of Saintonge, and some of England, who had been with Sir John Chandos, came then to the Earl of Pembroke and went forth in his company. So they rode forth, and passed through Poitou, and took the same way that Sir John Chandos had taken before, and entered into Anjou, and burnt and wasted the country, and took all that was left ; and then took their way into the land of the Viscount of Rochechouart, where they did great damage and hurt.

Then when the Frenchmen, who were in the garrisons in the marches of Touraine, Anjou and Poitou, heard of these two journeys thus made in the country of Anjou, and heard how that for pride the Earl of Pembroke, who was but a young man, disdained to go forth in the company of Sir John Chandos, they determined to encounter him, if they might, thinking more easily to discomfit him than Sir John Chandos. Then they assembled together secretly a certain number out of every garrison thereabout, and they made their captain Sir Louis de Sancerre, Marshal of France ; and so secretly in a night they went forth by La Roche-Posay in Poitou, the which was French : they were to the number of seven hundred.

The Earl of Pembroke had done his journey and had made an end of the burning of the Viscount of Rochechouart's lands; his company of Englishmen and Poitevins rode forth without dismay, and heard no manner of tidings of any men of war, and so with great pillage and prey entered again into Poitou. And on a day they came about high noon to a village called Puirenon and took their lodging, weening to be in surety; and there varlets were setting up of their horses, and dressing of their supper when suddenly the Frenchmen, who were well advised of what they should do, came into the town, their spears in the rest, and crying their cry, "Our Lady for the Marshal of France!" And so they beat down on every side the Englishmen in the streets and in the houses; the noise was so great that it raised men up in great affray, for they were suddenly taken.

The noise came to the Earl of Pembroke and to the other knights, how the Frenchmen were come and assailed them. Then these lords went out of their lodgings and assembled their companies together; but they could not draw all together, for the Frenchmen were so strong that the Englishmen could not endure them; at the first brunt there were taken and slain more than sixscore, so that the earl had no remedy but to withdraw him as soon as he might, into a place of the Templars closed with stone walls. And so the earl and such as were with him entered into the place; and the residue were taken and slain, and most part of their harness and horses were lost; and there the Earl of Pembroke lost all his baggage and riches.

And when the Frenchmen knew that they were in that place, they were thereof right joyous, saying among themselves, "They cannot escape us; they are all

ours ; they shall now dearly repay the damages that they have done in Anjou and Touraine."

So the Frenchmen drew to the place in good order, ready to assail it, for they saw well that it was pregnable ; then they assailed the place right fiercely, and there was showed many a noble feat of arms. The Frenchmen were good men of war, and assailed the place right valiantly ; the earl and the Englishmen took all pains, as much as they might, to defend themselves, as it well behoved them to do. The Frenchmen had certain scaling-ladders, and some of them adventured themselves to mount upon the walls, with shields before them for fear of shot and casting of stones ; but when they were up, they were fiercely received by knights and squires with spears and swords in their hands, who fought with them hand to hand, and caused them to descend faster than they came up ; and such archers as were within shot so fiercely that the Frenchmen drew aback.

So this assault endured till it was night ; then the Frenchmen, right weary and sore travailed, sounded the retreat and withdrew, saying that they had done enough for that day, till the next morning, when they purposed to come again to the assault : " But all things considered," the Frenchmen said, " surely they be all ours ; they cannot long endure against us, we shall rather famish them." And so they lodged them that night, and kept good watch before the place.

Ye may know for truth the Earl of Pembroke and his company were not well at their ease ; they saw well they were in great jeopardy, for they perceived how the fortress was not strong enough to endure long against so many good knights as were there against them ; also they lacked victuals and artillery to keep

the place long ; howbeit, they thought to fast a day and a night, if need were.

And when it was dark night, then they desired a squire, in whom they had great trust, to depart out at a back postern, and so to ride to Poitiers, and to speak with Sir John Chandos and show him what case they were in, showing him also how that if he list he might come in time enough to rescue them ; for they trusted to defend the place till the next day past noon.

The squire, who saw the great danger that they were in, said he would gladly do their message, and also he said he knew well the way thither. And so about midnight he departed by a back postern, and took, as he thought, the way to Poitiers ; howbeit, for all his knowledge, he went all night out of the way, so that it was fair day before he could get into the right way.

And in the morning the Frenchmen armed them and sounded to the assault, saying how they would assault the place in the cool of the morning rather than in the heat of the day. The Earl of Pembroke and his company all that night had slept little, but were fortifying of the walls with stones and other things, for they saw well how the Frenchmen ordained to assail them again. So, within a while, the Frenchmen drew to the place and in good order made assault, and had scaling-ladders ; and some mounted up the walls with shields to defend their heads : they thought it a great honour whosoever could mount first. Howbeit the Englishmen were not idle, but ready to defend themselves, or else they had been taken ; and so they defended themselves marvelously, and cast down stones on the shields and basinetts, and overthrew, slew and hurt divers, and did such deeds of arms that ye never heard of so feeble a place so well

defended with so few people against so many good knights and squires as were there : so this assault endured from morning till it was noon.

How Sir John Chandos came to the succour of the Earl of Pembroke

Between the morning and nine of the day, when the assault was fiercest, the Frenchmen, sore displeased that the Englishmen endured so long, sent to the villages thereabouts for pikes and mattocks to break down and undermine the wall, which thing the Englishmen feared most.

Then the Earl of Pembroke called a squire to him, and said, " Friend, take my courser, and issue out at the back postern, and we shall make you way, and ride straight to Poitiers, and show Sir John Chandos the state and danger that we be in ; and recommend me to him by this token " : and he took a ring from his finger and delivered it to him, and said, " Take Sir John Chandos this ring ; he knoweth it right well."

The squire thought it should be a great honour to him if he might achieve to escape and speak with him ; and so he took the ring, and mounted on his courser, and departed by a privy way while the assault endured, and took the way to Poitiers.

In the mean season the assault by the Frenchmen was terrible and fierce, and the Englishmen defended themselves right valiantly with good courage, as it well behoved them to do.

Now let us speak of the first squire that departed from Puirenon at the hour of midnight : all the night he rode out of his way, and when it was morning and fair day, then he knew his way, and so rode towards Poitiers,



Sir John Chandos and the Earl of Pembroke's Squire

and by that time his horse was weary ; howbeit he came thither by nine of the clock, and there alighted before Sir John Chandos' lodging, and entered and found him at mass ; and so came and kneeled down before him, and did his message as he was commanded.

And Sir John Chandos, who was not content for the other day before in that the Earl of Pembroke would not ride with him, as ye have heard before, he was therefore not lightly inclined to make any great haste, but said, " It will be hard for us to come thither in time enough, and to hear out this mass." And anon after mass the tables were covered ready to dinner, and the servants inquired of him if he would go to dinner ; and he said, " Yes, sith it is ready."

Then he went into his hall, and knights and squires brought him water ; and as he was a-washing, there came into the hall the second squire from the Earl of Pembroke, and kneeled down, and took the ring out of his purse, and said, " Right dear sir, the Earl of Pembroke recommendeth him to you by this token, and desireth you heartily to come and aid him, and bring him out of the danger that he and his be in at Puirennon."

Then Sir John Chandos took the ring, and knew it well ; and said, " To come thither betimes, it were hard, if they be in that plight as ye show me. Let us go to dinner " ; and so sat down, and all his company, and ate the first course. And as he was served of the second course, and was eating thereof, suddenly Sir John, who greatly had pondered on that matter, at last cast up his head, and said to his company, " Sirs, the Earl of Pembroke is a noble man, and of great lineage : he is son to my natural lord the King of England, for he hath wedded his daughter ; he hath required me to come to him, and I ought to consent to his desire, and

succour him, if we may come betimes." Therewith he put the table from him, and said, "Sirs, I will ride toward Puirenon"; whereof his people had great joy.

And anon they apparelled them, and the trumpets sounded, and every man mounted on his horse, they that best might, as soon as they heard that Sir John would ride to Puirenon to succour the Earl of Pembroke and his company, who were besieged there. Then every knight, squire and man of arms went out into the field, so they were more than two hundred spears, and alway they increased.

Thus as they rode forth together, tidings came to the Frenchmen, who had continually assaulted the fortress from the morning till it was high noon, by their spies, who said to them, "Sirs, take heed to yourselves, for Sir John Chandos is departed from Poitiers with more than two hundred spears, and is coming hitherward in great haste, and hath great desire to find you here."

And when Sir Louis de Sancerre, and the other captains heard those tidings, the wisest among them said, "Sirs, our people are sore weary and travailed with assaulting of the Englishmen both yesterday and this day, therefore I think it were better that fair and easily we returned in safe-guard, with such winnings and prisoners as we have got, rather than abide the coming of Sir John Chandos and his company, who are all fresh and lusty; for I fear we may lose more than we shall win." The which counsel was well believed; and anon their trumpets sounded the retreat; and all their company drew from the assault, and so returned and took the way to La Roche-Posay.

The Earl of Pembroke and his company knew anon thereby how the Frenchmen had knowledge of the coming of Sir John Chandos; then the earl said, "Sirs,

let us all issue out and ride toward Poitiers to meet with my dear friend Sir John Chandos." Then they leapt a-horseback, such as had any horses, and some afoot, and two and two on a horse, and so they issued out of the castle, and rode toward Poitiers. And they had not ridden a league but they encountered Sir John Chandos and his company, and there was a joyful meeting. And Sir John Chandos said that he was sore displeased that he came not before the Frenchmen were departed; and so they rode together talking the space of three leagues, and then they took leave each of other: Sir John Chandos returned to Poitiers, and the Earl of Pembroke to Mortagne, from whence he first departed.

And the marshals of France and their company returned to La Roche-Posay, and there parted their booty; and went to their own garrison, and led with them their prisoners, and ransomed them courteously in like manner as was accustomed between the Englishmen and Frenchmen.

X

THE DEATH OF QUEEN PHILIPPA AND THE DEATH OF CHANDOS

How Queen Philippa of England trespassed
out of this mortal life, and of the three
gifts she desired of her husband
the King

IN the mean season there fell in England a heavy case and a common : howbeit it was right piteous for the King, his children, and all his realm ; for the good Queen of England, that so many good deeds had done in her time, and so many knights succoured, and ladies and damsels comforted, and had so largely parted of her goods to her people, and naturally loved always the nation of Hainault, the country where she was born,—she fell sick in the Castle of Windsor, the which sickness continued on her so long that there was no remedy but death.

And the good lady, when she knew and perceived that there was with her no remedy but death, she desired to speak with the King her husband. And when he was before her, she put out of her bed her right hand, and took the King by his right hand, who was right sorrowful at his heart ; then she said, “ Sir, we have in peace, joy and great prosperity used all our time together : sir, now I pray you at our parting that ye will grant me three desires.”

The King, right sorrowfully weeping, said, "Madame, desire what ye will, I grant it."

"Sir," said she, "I require you first of all, that all manner of people, such as I have dealt with in their merchandise, on this side the sea or beyond, that it may please you to pay everything that I owe to them, or to any other: and secondly, sir, all such ordinance and promises as I have made to the churches, as well of this country as beyond the sea, where I have had my devotion, that it may please you to accomplish and to fulfil the same: thirdly, sir, I require you that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whensoever it shall please God to call you out of this transitory life, but beside me in Westminster."

The King, all weeping, said, "Madame, I grant all your desire."

Then the good lady and Queen made on her the sign of the cross, and commended the King her husband to God, and her youngest son Thomas, who was there beside her; and anon after, she yielded up the spirit, the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to heaven; for in all her life she did neither in thought nor deed a thing whereby to lose her soul, as far as any creature could know.

Thus the good Queen of England died, in the year of our Lord 1369, in the vigil of our Lady in the midst of August.

**How Sir John Chandos was slain in a battle,
and how finally the Frenchmen were
discomfited, and taken in the
same battle**

The same time there was in Poitou an abbey, and is yet, called St Salvin, a seven leagues from Poitiers, in

the which abbey there was a monk that greatly hated his superior the abbot, and that he showed well ; for because of the hatred that he had to him, he betrayed the abbot and all his convent : for by his means he delivered the abbey and the town to Sir Louis de St Julien and to Charuel the Breton, who took it in the French King's name, and repaired it, and made there a good garrison.

Greatly it grieved Sir John Chandos, the taking of St Salvin, because it was under his rule ; for he was seneschal of Poitou. He set all his mind how he might recover it again, either by force or by stealth he cared not, so he might have it ; and for that intent divers nights he made sundry bushments, but it availed not ; for Sir Louis, who kept it, took ever so good heed thereto that he defended it from all dangers, for he knew well the taking thereof grieved sore Sir John Chandos at the heart.

So it fell that the night before the first day of January Sir John Chandos, being in Poitiers, sent to assemble together divers barons, knights and squires of Poitou, desiring them to come to him as privily as they could, for he made known to them how he would ride forth ; and they refused not his desire, for they loved him entirely, but shortly assembled together in the city of Poitiers. Thither came Sir Guichard d'Angle, Sir Louis Harcourt, the Lord of Pons, the Lord of Partenay, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Baldwin de Freville and divers others. And when they were all together assembled, they were three hundred spears ; and they departed by night from Poitiers. None knew whither they should go, except certain of the lords ; and they had ready with them scaling-ladders, and so came to St Salvin about midnight, and there alighted and de-

livered their horses to their varlets, and so entered into the dykes. Yet they had not their intent so shortly ; for suddenly they heard the watchhorn blow : I shall tell you wherefore it blew.

The same night Charuel was departed from La Roche-Posay with a forty spears with him, and was come the same time to St Salvin to speak with the captain Sir Louis de St Julien, to the intent to have ridden together to Poitou to see if they could get any prey ; and so he called up the watchman, the which made him to sound his horn.

And so the Englishmen, who were on the other side of the fortress, hearing the watch blow and great noise in the place, feared lest they had been spied, for they knew not that the said Frenchmen were on the other side to have entered into the place ; therefore they withdrew back again out of the dykes, and said, “ Let us go hence for this night, for we have failed of our purpose.”

And so they remounted and returned to Chauvigny on the river of Vienne, a two leagues thence. Then the Poitevins demanded of Sir John Chandos if he would command them any further service.

He answered and said, “ Sirs, return home again when it please you ; this day I will abide still in this town.”

So there departed the knights of Poitou and some of England, to the number of two hundred spears.

Then Sir John Chandos went into a house, and caused to be made a good fire ; and there was still with him Sir Thomas Percy and his company, seneschal of La Rochelle, who said to Sir John, “ Sir, is it your intent to tarry here all this day ? ”

“ Yea truly, sir,” quoth he ; “ why demand you ? ”

"Sir, the cause I desire you is, sith ye will not stir this day, to give me leave and I will ride some way with my company to see if I can find any adventure."

"Go your way, sir, in the name of God," quoth Sir John Chandos.

And so departed Sir Thomas Percy with a thirty spears in his company, and so passed the bridge at Chauvigny, and took the long way that led to Poitiers.

And Sir John Chandos abode still behind, full of displeasure in that he had failed of his purpose, and so stood in a kitchen, warming him by the fire, and his servants talked with him, and jested before him, to the intent to bring him out of his melancholy. His servants had prepared for him a place to rest him; then he demanded if it were near day; and therewith there came a man into the house and came before him, and said, "Sir, I have brought you tidings."

"What be they? tell me."

"Sir, surely the Frenchmen be riding abroad."

"How knowest thou that?"

"Sir," said he, "I departed from St Salvin with them"

"What way be they ridden?"

"Sir, I cannot tell you the certainty, but surely they took the highway to Poitiers."

"What Frenchmen be they, canst thou tell me?"

"Sir, it is Sir Louis de St Julien and Charuel the Breton"

"Well," quoth Sir John Chandos, "I care not. I have no wish this night to ride forth; they may hap to be encountered though I be not there."

And so he tarried there still a certain space in a great study; and at last, when he had well considered, he said, "Whatsoever I have said herebefore, I trow it

be good that I ride forth. I must return to Poitiers, and anon it will be day. Make ready, for I will ride forth"; and so they did, and mounted on their horses, and took the right way to Poitiers, coasting the river. And the Frenchmen the same time were not past a league before him in the same way, thinking to pass the river at the bridge of Lussac. There the Englishmen had knowledge how they were in the track of the Frenchmen's horses, and said among themselves, "Either the Frenchmen or Sir Thomas Percy be riding before us."

And anon it was fair light day. And when the Frenchmen and Bretons were within a league of the bridge, they perceived on the other side Sir Thomas Percy and his company; and he likewise perceived the Frenchmen, and rode as fast as he might, to get the advantage of the bridge, and said, "Behold yonder Frenchmen be a great number against us, therefore let us take the advantage of the bridge."

And when Sir Louis and Charuel saw the Englishmen make such haste to get the bridge, they did in like wise; howbeit the Englishmen gat it first, and lighted all afoot, and so ranged themselves in good order to defend the bridge. The Frenchmen likewise lighted afoot, and delivered their horses to their pages, commanding them to draw aback, and so did put themselves in good order to go and assail the Englishmen, who kept themselves close together and were nothing afraid, though they were but a handful of men as compared with the Frenchmen.

And thus as the Frenchmen studied how and by what means to their advantage they might assail the Englishmen, therewith there came behind them Sir John Chandos, his banner displayed, bearing therein

silver, a sharp pile gules ; and he had with him a forty spears. He approached fiercely the Frenchmen ; and when he was a three furlongs from the bridge, the French pages, who saw them coming, were afraid, and so ran away with the horses, and left their masters there afoot.

And when Sir John Chandos was come near to them, he said, " Hark ye, Frenchmen, ye are but evil men of war ; ye ride at your pleasure and ease day and night ; ye take and win towns and fortresses in Poitou, whereof I am seneschal ; ye ransom poor folk without my leave ; ye ride all about clean armed : it should seem the country is all yours, but I assure you it is not so. Ye, Sir Louis and Charuel, ye are too great masters. It is more than a year and a half that I have set all mine intent to find or encounter with you, and now, I thank God, I see you and speak to you. Now shall it be seen who is stronger, either you or I. It hath been showed me oftentimes that ye have greatly desired to find me : now ye may see me here ; I am Sir John Chandos, regard me well. Your great feats of arms wherewith ye be renowned, by God's leave now shall we prove them."

While such words were spoken, Sir John Chandos' company drew together, and Sir Louis and Charuel kept themselves close together, making semblance to be glad to be fought withal : and of all this matter Sir Thomas Percy, who was on the other side of the bridge, knew nothing ; for the bridge was high in the midst, so that neither could see the other.

And while Sir John Chandos spake thus, there was a Breton took his sword and could forbear no longer, but came to an English squire, called Simkin Dodenhale, and strake him so in the breast that he cast him

down from his horse. Sir John Chandos, when he heard that noise beside him, he turned that way and saw his squire lie on the earth, and the Frenchmen laying on him. Then he was more chafed than he was before, and said to his company, "Sirs, how suffer you this squire thus to be slain? Afoot, afoot!" And so he leapt afoot, and all his company, and Simkin was rescued, and the battle begun.

Sir John Chandos, who was a right hardy and courageous knight, with his banner before him and his company about him, as one of the foremost, marched to his enemies with his sword in his hand. The same morning there had fallen a great dew, so that the ground was somewhat moist, and so in his going forward he slipped and fell down at the joining with his enemies; and as he was arising there lit a stroke on him, given by a squire called Jacques de St Martin with his glaive, the which stroke entered into the flesh under his eye, between the nose and the forehead. Sir John saw not the stroke coming on that side, for he was blind on the one eye; he lost the sight thereof a five year before, as he hunted after a hart in the heaths of Bordeaux; and also he had on no visor. The stroke was rude, and entered into his brain; the which stroke grieved him so sore that he fell to the earth, and turned for pain twice over, as he that was wounded to death: for after the stroke he never spake word.

And when his men saw that misfortune, they were right dolorous. Then his uncle Edward Clifford stepped forward and bestrode him, for the Frenchmen would fain have had him, and defended him so valiantly and gave round about him such strokes that none durst approach near to him. Also Sir John Clanvowe and Sir Bertrand de Casselis seemed like men out of

their minds, when they saw their master lie on the earth.

The Bretons and Frenchmen were greatly rejoiced when they saw the captain of their enemies on the earth, thinking verily that he had his death's wound. Then they advanced, and said, "Ye Englishmen, yield you, for ye are all ours ; ye cannot scape us."

There the Englishmen did marvels in arms, as well to defend themselves as to revenge their master Sir John Chandos. And a squire of Sir John Chandos spied Jacques de St Martin, who had given his master his mortal stroke, and ran to him fiercely, and strake him with such violence that his glaive pierced through both his thighs : howbeit, for all that stroke he left not still to fight.

If Sir Thomas Percy and his company, who were on the other side of the bridge, had known of this adventure, they should well have succoured him ; but because they knew nothing thereof, and heard no more of the Frenchmen, weening that they had gone back, he and his company departed and took the way to Poitiers, as they that knew nothing of that business.

Thus the Englishmen fought still before the bridge of Lussac, and there was done many a feat of arms. Briefly, the Englishmen could endure no longer against the Frenchmen, so that the most part of them were discomfited and taken ; but always Edward Clifford would not depart from his nephew where he lay.

So thus, if the Frenchmen had been so happy as to have had their horses there ready, as they had not (for their pages were run away from them before), they might have departed with much honour and profit, with many a good prisoner ; but for lack of their horses they lost all : wherefore they were sore dis-

pleased, and said among themselves, "Ah, this is an evil order; for the day is ours, and yet through fault of our pages we cannot depart, seeing we be heavy armed and sore travailed, so that we cannot go afoot through this country, the which is full of our enemies; and we are a six leagues from the next fortress that we have; and also divers of our company be sore hurt, and we may not leave them behind us."

Thus as they were in this case, and wist not what to do, and had sent two Bretons unarmed into the fields to see if they might find any of their pages with their horses, there came on them Sir Guichard d'Angle, Sir Louis Harcourt, the Lord Partenay, and divers Englishmen, to the number of two hundred spears, who rode about to seek for the Frenchmen, for it was showed them how they were abroad; and so they fell in the track of the horses, and came in great haste with banners and pennons waving in the wind.

And as soon as the Bretons and Frenchmen saw them coming, they knew well they were their enemies. Then they said to the Englishmen whom they had taken as prisoners before, "Sirs, behold yonder cometh a band of your company to succour you, and we perceive well that we cannot endure against them, and ye be our prisoners. We will quit you, so that ye will keep us, and we will become your prisoners; for we had rather yield us to you than to them that come yonder."

And they answered, "As ye will, so are we content." Thus the Englishmen were delivered quit.

Then the Poitevins, Gascons and Englishmen came on them, their spears in their rests, crying their cries; then the Frenchmen and Bretons drew aside, and said to them, "Sirs, let be; do us no hurt; we be all prisoners already." The Englishmen affirmed the same,

and said, "They be our prisoners." Charuel was prisoner with Sir Bertrand de Casselis, and Sir Louis de St Julien with Sir John Clanvowe, so that there was none but he had a master.

The barons and knights of Poitou were sore discomfited when they saw their seneschal Sir John Chandos lie on the earth and not able to speak. Then they lamented and said, "Ah, Sir John Chandos, the flower of all chivalry, unhappily was that glaive forged that thus hath wounded you, and brought you in peril of death!" They wept piteously that were about him, and he heard and understood them well, but he could speak no word. They wrung their hands, and tare their hair, and made many a pitiful complaint, specially such as were of his own house; then his servants unarmed him, and laid him on shields, and so bare him softly to Mortemer, the next fortress to them. And the other barons and knights returned to Poitiers, and led with them their prisoners: and as I understood, the same Jacques de St Martin, that thus hurt Sir John Chandos, was so little taken heed to of his hurts that he died at Poitiers. And this noble knight, Sir John Chandos, lived not after his hurt past a day and a night, but so died. God have mercy on his soul: for in a hundred year after there was not a more courteous, nor fuller of noble virtues and good conditions among the Englishmen than he was.

And when the Prince and Princess, the Earl of Pembroke and other barons and knights of England, such as were in Guienne, heard of his death, they were all discomfited, and said they had lost all on that side of the sea. For his death his friends, and also some of his enemies, were right sorrowful; the Englishmen loved him because all nobleness was found in him; the

Frenchmen hated him because they feared him. Yet I heard his death greatly lamented among right noble and valiant knights of France: "For," they said, "better it had been that he had been taken alive. For if he had been taken alive," they said, "he was so sage and so imaginative that he would have found some manner of good means whereby peace might have ensued between the realms of England and France; for he was so well beloved with the King of England that the King would believe him rather than any other in the world." Thus both French and English spake of his death; and specially the Englishmen, for by him Guienne was kept and recovered.

Of the death of the Prince of Wales, and also of the death of the King of England, Edward the Third

On Trinity Sunday, the year of our Lord 1376, there passed out of this world the flower of chivalry of England, Edward Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, at the King's palace of Westminster beside London. And so he was embalmed and put in lead and kept till the feast of St Michael next after, to be interred with the greater solemnity when the parliament should be there.

And after the feast of St Michael, when the obsequy of the Prince was done and finished, then the King of England made to be known to his sons, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Cambridge, and to the Lord Thomas the youngest, and to all the barons, earls, prelates, and knights of England how that the young Richard, son to the Prince of Wales, should be king after his decease, and so caused them all to swear

solemnly to maintain him ; and on Christmas day the King made him to sit at his table, above all his own children, in great state, representing that he should be king after his decease.

And in the year of our Lord 1377 Edward King of England passed out of this world, the vigil of St John the Baptist. Then was there great sorrow made in England, and incontinent all the passages of the realm were stopped, that none should issue out of the realm ; for they would not that the death of the King should be so soon known in France, till they had set the realm in some order. So the body of King Edward the Third, with great processions, weepings and lamentations, his sons behind him with all the nobles and prelates of England, was brought along the city of London, with open visage, to Westminster, and there he was buried beside the Queen his wife.

And anon after, the young King Richard was crowned at the Palace of Westminster with great solemnity the eleventh year of his age, in the month of July.

And as soon as the French King knew of the death of King Edward, he said how right nobly and valiantly he had reigned, and well he ought to be put in remembrance among the number of the worthies. Then he assembled a great number of the nobles and prelates of his realm, and did his obsequy in the Holy Chapel in his palace at Paris.

XI

WAT TYLER'S RISING

How the commons of England rebelled against the noblemen

IN the year of our Lord 1381 there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of the common people, by which England was at a point to have been lost without recovery.

There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen have great rights over the commons and keep them in bondage; that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corn, and some to thresh and to fan, and to make their hay, and to hew their wood and bring it home: all these things they ought to do by servage. And there be more of these people in England than in any other realm; thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the county of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford.

These unhappy people of these said counties began to stir, because they said they were kept in great bondage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen; wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond; saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for if they laboured or did anything

for their lords, they would have wages therefor as well as other men.

And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison ; for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus :

“ Ah, ye good people, matters go not well in England, nor shall they till everything be common, and there be no bondmen nor gentlemen, but we be all of one kind, and the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in bondage ? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve ; whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to win and labour for that they dispend ? They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vested with poor cloth ; they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff, and drink water ; they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields ; and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates ; we be called their bondmen, and without we do readily them service, we be beaten ; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right. Let us go to the King, he is young, and show him what servage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy ; and if we go together, all manner of people that be now in any bondage will follow us, to the intent to be made

free ; and when the King seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise."

Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages ; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth ; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was informed of the saying of this John Ball, caused him to be taken and put in prison a two or three months to chastise him ; howbeit, it had been much better at the beginning that he had been condemned to perpetual prison, or else to have died, rather than to have suffered him to have been again delivered out of prison ; but the Archbishop had conscience to let him die. And when this John Ball was out of prison, he returned again to his error as he did before.

Of his words and deeds there were much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble ; and then they began to speak among them and said how the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noble-men. So thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel, and assembled them together, and sent word to the foresaid counties that they should come to London, and bring their people with them, promising how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, and saying how they would do so much to the King that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise so moved them of Kent, of Essex, of

Sussex, of Bedford, and of the counties about, that they rose and came towards London, to the number of sixty thousand ; and they had a captain called Walter Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball ; these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Walter Tyler ; he was in deed a tiler of houses, a man ungracious to his betters.

When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly afraid. Then the Mayor of London and the rich men of the city took counsel together, and when they saw the people thus coming on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed, and would suffer no man to enter into the city. But when they had well considered, they determined not so to do, for they thought they should thereby put their suburbs in great peril to be burnt ; and so they opened again the gates, and there entered in at the gates in some places a hundred, and two hundred, by twenty and by thirty. And yet of truth three-fourths of these people could not tell what to ask or demand, but followed each other like beasts. These bondmen and poor people came to London, a hundred mile off, sixty mile, fifty mile, forty mile, and twenty mile off, and as they came they demanded ever for the King. The gentlemen of the country, knights and squires, began to fear when they saw the people rebel ; and though they had fear, it was good reason ; for a less occasion they might have been afraid : so the gentlemen drew together as well as they might.

The same day that these unhappy people of Kent were coming to London, there returned from Canterbury the King's mother, Princess of Wales, coming from her pilgrimage ; she was in great jeopardy to have been lost, for these people came to her carriage and dealt rudely



The King's Mother was in great Jeopardy

with her, whereof the good lady was in great fear lest they would have done some villainy to her or to her damosels; howbeit, God kept her, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, for she never durst tarry by the way.

The same time King Richard her son was at the Tower of London; there his mother found him, and with him was the Earl of Salisbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers others, who were in fear of these people that thus gathered together, and wist not what they demanded. This rebellion was well known in the King's court before any of these people began to stir out of their houses; but the King and his council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel. And to the intent that all lords and good people should take ensample to correct them that be evil and rebellious, I shall show you plainly all the matter as it was.

**The evil deeds that these commons of Eng-
land did to the King's officers, and
how they sent a knight to
speak with the King**

The Monday before the feast of Corpus Christi these people issued out of their houses to come to London to speak with the King to be made free, for they would have had no bondman in England. And so first they came to St Thomas of Canterbury, and there John Ball had thought to have found the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he was at London with the King. When Wat Tyler and Jack Straw entered into Canterbury, all the common people made great feast, for all the town was of their assent; and there they took counsel to go to London to the King, and to send some of their company

over the river of Thames, into Essex, into Sussex, and into the counties of Stafford and Bedford, to speak to the people, that they should all come to the farther side of London, and thereby to close London round about, so that the King should not stop their passages, and that they should all meet together on Corpus Christi day.

They that were at Canterbury entered into St Thomas' church and did there much hurt, and robbed and brake up the bishop's chamber; and in robbing and bearing out their pillage they said, "Ah, this Chancellor of England hath had a good bargain to get together all these riches; he shall give us now account of the revenues of England and of the great profits that he hath gathered sith the King's coronation."

Then they departed and took the way to Rochester, and sent their people to the villages about. And in their going they beat down and robbed houses of advocates and procurers of the King's court and of the archbishop, and had mercy of none. And when they were come to Rochester, they had there good cheer, for the people of that town were of the same sect. And then they went to the castle there, and took the knight that had the rule thereof; he was called Sir John Newton; and they said to him, "Sir, it behoveth you to go with us, and you shall be our sovereign captain, and to do that we will have you."

The knight excused himself honestly, and showed them divers considerations and excuses; but all availed him nothing, for they said unto him, "Sir John, if ye do not as we will have you, ye are but dead."

The knight, seeing these people in that fury and ready to slay him, feared death, and agreed to them, and so they took him with them against his inward will.

And in like wise did they of other counties in England,

as Essex, Sussex, Stafford, Bedford, and Warwick, even to Lincoln; for they brought the knights and gentlemen into such obeisance that they caused them to go with them whether they would or not, as Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Stephen Cosington and others.

Now behold the great fortune. If they might have come to their intents, they would have destroyed all the noblemen of England, and thereafter all other nations would have followed the same, and have taken ensample by them, and by them of Ghent and Flanders, who rebelled against their lord. The same year the Parisians rebelled in like wise; but now we will speak of them of England.

When these people thus lodged at Rochester departed and passed the river, they came to Dartford, alway beating down before them, and all about, the places of advocates and procurers, and striking off the heads of divers persons. And so long they went forward till they came within a four mile of London, and there lodged on a hill called Blackheath; and as they went, they said ever they were the King's men and the noble commons of England.

And when they of London knew that they were come so near to them, the mayor, as ye have heard before, closed the gates, and kept straitly all the passages. Thus ordered the mayor, who was called William Walworth, and divers other rich burgesses of the city, who were not of their sect; but there were in London of their unhappy opinions more than thirty thousand.

Then these people thus being lodged on Blackheath determined to send their knight to speak with the King, and to show him how all that they had done, or would do, was for him and his honour, and how the realm of England had not been well governed a great space for

the honour of the realm nor for the common profit, by his uncles and by the clergy, and specially by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, whereof they would have account.

This knight, Sir John Newton, durst do none otherwise, but so came by the river of Thames to the Tower. The King and they that were with him in the Tower, desiring to hear tidings, seeing the knight coming made him way, and he was brought before the King into a chamber.

Sir John, who was well known among them, for he was one of the King's officers, kneeled down before the King, and said, "My right redoubted lord, let it not displease your Grace the message that I must needs show you ; for, dear sir, it is by force and against my will."

"Sir John," said the King, "say what ye will, I hold you excused."

"Sir, the commons of this your realm have sent me to you, to desire you to come and speak with them on Blackheath, for they desire to have none but you : and, sir, ye need not have any fear of your person, for they will do you no hurt ; for they hold, and will hold, you for their King. But, sir, they say they will show you divers things, the which shall be right necessary for you to take heed of, when they speak with you ; of the which things, sir, I have no charge to show you. But, an it may please you, sir, give me an answer such as may appease them, and that they may know for truth that I have spoken with you ; for they have my children in hostage till I return again to them, and without I return again they will slay my children forthwith."

Then the King said, "Sir, ye shall have an answer shortly." And the King took counsel what was best for him to do, and it was anon determined that the next

morning he should go down the river by water, and without fail speak with them.

And when Sir John Newton heard that answer, he desired nothing else, and so took his leave of the King and of the lords, and returned to Blackheath, where he had left more than threescore thousand men ; and there he answered them that the next morning they should send some of their council to the Thames, and there the King would come and speak with them. This answer greatly pleased them ; and so they passed that night as well as they might. The greater part of them fasted for lack of victuals, for they had none ; wherewith they were sore displeased, which was good reason.

How the commons of England entered into London, and of the great evil that they did ; and of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury and divers others

In the morning on Corpus Christi day King Richard heard mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge, with the Earl of Salisbury, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, where had descended down the hill a ten thousand men to see the King and to speak with him. And when they saw the King's barge coming, they began to shout, and made a great outcry. And they had brought with them Sir John Newton, to the intent that if the King had not come, they would have stricken him all to pieces, and so they had promised him.

And when the King and his lords saw the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in dread ; and so the King was counselled by his barons not to take any landing there, but so was rowed up and down

the river. And the King demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come thither to speak with them; and they said all with one voice, "We would that ye should come a-land, and then we shall show you what we lack."

Then the Earl of Salisbury answered for the King, and said, "Sirs, ye be not in such order nor array that the King ought to speak with you." And so with these words no more was said. And then the King was counselled to return again to the Tower of London, and so he did.

And when these people saw that, they were inflamed with ire, and returned to the hill where the great band was, and there showed them what answer they had, and how the King was returned to the Tower of London. Then they cried all with one voice, "Let us go to London"; and so they took their way thither. And in their going they beat down abbeyes and houses of advocates and of men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses: and specially they brake up the King's prisons, the Marshalsea and others, and delivered out all the prisoners that were within. And there they did much hurt; and at the bridge foot they threatened them of London, because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would burn all the suburbs, and so conquer London by force, and slay and burn all the commons of the city.

There were many within the city of their accord, and so they drew together, and said, "Why do we not let these good people enter into the city? They are our fellows, and that which they do is for us." So therewith the gates were opened, and then these people entered into the city, and went into houses and sat

down to eat and drink : they desired nothing but it was straightway brought to them, for every man was ready to make them good cheer, and to give them meat and drink to appease them.

Then the captains, John Ball, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, went throughout London, and a twenty thousand with them, and so came to the Savoy in the way to Westminster, which was a goodly house, and pertained to the Duke of Lancaster ; and when they entered, they slew the keepers thereof, and robbed the house, and when they had so done, then they set fire to it and clean destroyed and burnt it. And when they had done that outrage, they left not therewith, but went straight to the fair hospital of the knights of Rhodes, called St John's, and there they burnt house, hospital, minster and all. Then they went from street to street, and slew all the Flemings that they could find, in church or in any other place ; there were none respited from death. And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards, and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay.

And they slew in the city a rich merchant, called Richard Lyon, to whom before that time Wat Tyler had done service in France ; and on a time this Richard Lyon had beaten him while he was his varlet, the which Wat Tyler then remembered, and so came to his house and strake off his head, and caused it to be borne on a spear-point before him all about the city.

Thus these ungracious people demeaned themselves like people enraged and mad, and that day they did much sorrow in London. And against night they went to lodge at St Katherine's before the Tower of London, saying how they would never depart thence till they had the King at their pleasure, and till he had accorded

to them all they desired, and that they would ask accounts of the Chancellor of England, to know where all the sums were that he had levied through the realm, and without he made a good account to them thereof, it should not be for his profit.

Ye may well know and believe that it was great pity for the danger that the King and such as were with him were in. This evening the King was counselled by his brethren and lords, and by Sir William Walworth, Mayor of London, and divers other notable and rich burgesses, that in the night time they should issue out of the Tower and slay all these unhappy people while they were at their rest and asleep; for it was thought that many of them were drunken, whereby they should be slain like flies; also of twenty of them there was scant one in harness. And surely the good men of London might well have done this at their ease, for they had in their houses secretly their friends and servants ready in harness; Sir Robert Knolles was in his lodging, keeping his treasure, with a sixscore ready at his comandment, in like wise was Sir Perducas d'Albret; insomuch that there might well have been assembled together an eight thousand men, ready in harness. Howbeit, there was nothing done, for the residue of the commons of the city were sore feared, lest they should rise also, and the commons before were a threescore thousand or more.

Then the Earl of Salisbury and the wise men about the King said, "Sir, if ye can appease them with fairness, it were best and most profitable, and to grant them everything that they desire; for if we should begin a thing, the which we could not achieve, we should never recover it again, but we and our heirs ever be disinherited." So this counsel was taken, and the mayor commanded that he should not stir; and he did as he

was commanded, as reason was. And in the city with the mayor there were twelve aldermen, whereof nine held with the King, and the other three took part with these ungracious people, as it was after well known; for the which they full dearly paid.

And on the Friday in the morning the people, being at St Katherine's near to the Tower, began to apparel themselves, and to cry and shout, and said, without the King would come out and speak with them, they would assail the Tower and take it by force, and slay all them that were within.

Then the King feared these words, and so was counselled that he should issue out to speak with them; and the King sent to them that they should all draw to a fair plain place called Mile-end, where the people of the city did sport them in the summer season, and there he would grant them that they desired: and it was cried in the King's name that whosoever would speak with the King, let him go to the said place, and there he should not fail to find the King.

Then the people began to depart, specially the commons of the villages, and went to the same place; but all went not thither, for they were not all of one purpose: for there were some that desired nothing but riches and the utter destruction of the noblemen, and to have London robbed and plundered. That was the principal matter of their rising, the which they well showed; for as soon as the Tower gate opened and the King issued out with his two brethren, the Earl of Salisbury, and divers others, then Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, and more than four hundred, entered into the Tower, and brake up chamber after chamber, and at last found the Archbishop of Canterbury, called Simon, a valiant man and a wise, and Chief Chancellor of England; and a little before

he had said mass before the king. These rascals took him and strake off his head ; and also they beheaded the Prior of St John's, and a friar minor, master in medicine, pertaining to the Duke of Lancaster ; they slew him out of spite to his master ; and a sergeant at arms, called John Leg. And these four heads were set on four long spears, and they made them to be borne before them through the streets of London, and at last set them a-high on London bridge, as though they had been traitors to the King and to the realm.

Also these rascals entered into the Princess' chamber and brake her bed, whereby she was so sore afraid that she swooned ; and there she was taken up and borne to the water-side, and put into a barge and covered, and so conveyed to a house called the Queen's Wardrobe ; and there she was all that day and night like a woman half-dead, till she was comforted with the King her son, as ye shall hear after.

How the nobles of England were in great
peril to have been destroyed, and how
these rebels were punished and sent
home to their own houses

When the King came to the said place of Mile-end without London, he found there a threescore thousand men of divers villages and of sundry counties in England. So the King entered in among them, and said to them sweetly, " Ah, ye good people, I am your king ; what lack ye ? what will ye say ? "

Then such as heard him said, " We will that ye make us free for ever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands, and that we be called no more bond, nor so reputed."

" Sirs," said the King, " I am well agreed thereto :

withdraw you home into your own houses and into such villages as ye came from, and leave behind you of every village two or three, and I shall cause writings to be made, and seal them with my seal, the which they shall have with them, containing everything that ye demand; and to the intent that ye shall be the better assured, I shall cause my banners to be delivered into every bailiwick, shire and country."

These words appeased well the common people, such as were simple and good plain men, that were come thither and wist not why; they said, "It was well said; we desire no better." Thus these people began to be appeased and to withdraw them into the city of London.

And the King also said a word, the which greatly contented them. He said, "Sirs, among you good men of Kent ye shall have one of my banners with you, and ye of Essex another, and ye of Sussex, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Yarmouth, of Stafford and of Lynn, each of you one; and also I pardon everything that ye have done hitherto, so that ye follow my banners, and return home to your houses." They all answered how they would do so. Thus these people departed and went into London. Then the King ordained more than thirty clerks the same Friday to write with all diligence letters patent, and sealed with the King's seal, and delivered them to these people. And when they had received the writing, they departed and returned into their own counties.

But the great venom remained still behind, for Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball said, for all that these people were thus appeased, yet they would not depart so; and they had of their accord more than thirty thousand. So they abode still, and made no press to have the King's writing nor seal; for all their intent

was to put the city to trouble in such wise as to slay all the rich and honest persons, and to rob and plunder their houses. They of London were in great fear of this, wherefore they kept their houses privily with their friends and such servants as they had, every man according to his puissance. And when these said people were this Friday thus somewhat appeased, then King Richard came into the Royal, where the Queen his mother was, right sore afraid; so he comforted her as well as he could, and tarried there with her all that night.

Now I shall show you of an adventure that fell by these ungracious people before the city of Norwich, by a captain among them called William Lister of Stafford. The same day of Corpus Christi there assembled together they of Stafford, of Lynn, of Cambridge, of Bedford and of Yarmouth; and as they were coming towards London they had a captain among them called Lister. And as they came they rested them before Norwich: the cause why they rested before Norwich I shall show you.

There was a knight, captain of the town, called Sir Robert Sale; he was no gentleman born, but he was reputed sage and valiant in arms, and for his valiantness King Richard made him knight: he was of his body one of the biggest knights in all England. Lister and his company thought to have had this knight with them and to make him their chief captain, to the intent to be the more feared and beloved; so they sent to him that he should come and speak with them in the field, or else they would burn the town. The knight considered that it was better for him to go and speak with them rather than they should do that outrage; then he mounted on his horse and issued out of the town all alone.

And when they saw him, they made him great cheer and honoured him much, desiring him to alight off his horse and to speak with them, and so he did, wherein he did great folly ; for when he was alighted, they came round about him, and began to speak fair to him and said, " Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatly beloved in this country, and renowned a valiant man ; and though ye be thus, yet we know you well ; ye be no gentleman born, but son to a villein such as we be. Therefore come you with us and be our master, and we shall make you so great a lord that one quarter of England shall be under your obeisance."

When the knight heard them speak thus, it was greatly contrarious to his mind, for he thought never to make any such bargain, and answered them in sore displeasure, " Begone, ye ungracious people, false and evil traitors that ye be : would you that I should forsake my natural lord for such a company of knaves as ye be, to my dishonour for ever ? I had rather ye were all hanged, as ye shall be ; for that shall be your end."

And with those words he had thought to have leapt again upon his horse, but he failed of the stirrup, and the horse started away. Then they cried all at him, and said, " Slay him without mercy."

When he heard those words, he let his horse go, and drew out a good sword and began to skirmish with them, and made a great clearing about him, that it was pleasure to behold him. There were some that approached near him, but at every stroke that he gave, he cut off either leg, head, or arm : there was none so hardy but that they feared him ; he did there such deeds of arms that it was marvel to regard. But there were more than forty thousand of these unhappy people ; they shot and cast at him, and he was unarmed : to say

truth, if he had been of iron or steel, yet he must have needs have been slain ; but yet before he died he slew twelve out of hand, besides them that he hurt. Finally he was stricken to the earth, and they cut off his arms and legs, and then strake his body all to pieces. This was the end of Sir Robert Sale, which was great pity ; for which deed afterward all the knights and squires of England were angry and sore displeased when they heard thereof.

Now let us return to the King. The Saturday the King departed from the Wardrobe in the Royal and went to Westminster, and heard mass in the church there, and all his lords with him. And beside the church there was a little chapel with an image of our Lady, which did great miracles, and in whom the kings of England had ever great trust and confidence. The King made his orisons before this image, and did there his offering ; and then he leapt on his horse, and all his lords, and so rode toward London ; and yet when he had ridden a little way, he turned to a road on the left hand to pass without London.

The same morning Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball had assembled their company in a place called Smithfield, where every Friday there is a market of horses ; and there were together more than twenty thousand, and yet there were many still in the town, drinking and making merry in the taverns ; and these paid nothing, for happy were they that made them best cheer. And these people in Smithfield had with them the King's banners, the which were delivered them the day before ; and all these rascals were in mind to overrun and to rob London the same day, for their captains said how they had done nothing as yet. " These liberties that the King hath given us are but a small profit ;

therefore let us be all of one accord, and let us overrun this rich and puissant city before they of Essex, of Sussex, of Cambridge, of Bedford, of Arundel, of Warwick, of Reading, of Oxford, of Guildford, of Lynn, of Stafford, of Yarmouth, of Lincoln, of York, and of Durham do come hither : for all these will come hither ; Baker and Lister will bring them. And if we be first lords of London, and have the possession of the riches that are therein, we shall not repent us ; for if we leave it, they that come after will have it from us."

To this counsel they all agreed. And therewith the King came the same way, unaware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him a forty horse. And when he came before the abbey of St Bartholomew and beheld all these people, then the King rested, and said how he would go no farther till he knew what ailed them, saying, if they were in any trouble, how he would appease them again.

And when Wat Tyler saw the King tarry, he said to his people, "Sirs, yonder is the King ; I will go and speak with him. Stir not from hence, without I make you a sign ; and when I make you that sign, come on, and slay all them except the King : but do the King no hurt ; he is young, we shall do with him as we list, and shall lead him with us all about England, and so shall we be lords of all the realm without doubt."

And there was a doublet-maker of London, called John Tycle, and he had brought to these rascals a sixty doublets, the which they wore ; then he demanded of these captains who should pay him for his doublets : he demanded thirty mark.

Wat Tyler answered him and said, "Friend, appease thyself ; thou shalt be well paid before this day be ended : keep thee near me ; I shall be thy creditor."

And therewith he spurred his horse and departed from his company, and came to the King, so near him that his horse's head touched the croup of the King's horse. And the first word that he said was this: "Sir King, seest thou all yonder people?"

"Yea, truly," said the King; "wherefore askest thou?"

"Because," said he, "they be all at my commandment, and have sworn to me faith and troth, to do all that I will have them."

"Good," said the King, "I will well it be so."

Then said Wat Tyler, as he that willed nothing but riot, "What believest thou, King, that these people and as many more as be in London at my commandment, that they will depart from thee thus without having thy letters?"

"No," said the King, "ye shall have them; they be ordained for you, and shall be delivered every one, each after other. Wherefore, good fellows, withdraw fair and easily to your people, and cause them to depart out of London; for it is our intent that each of you by villages and townships shall have letters patent, as I have promised you."

With those words Wat Tyler cast his eyes on a squire that was there with the King, bearing the King's sword, and Wat Tyler hated greatly the same squire, for the squire had displeased him before for words between them. "What," said Tyler, "art thou there? Give me thy dagger."

"Nay," said the squire, "that will I not do: wherefore should I give it thee?"

The King beheld the squire, and said, "Give it him: let him have it." And so the squire took it him sore against his will.

And when this Wat Tyler had it, he began to play therewith, and turned it in his hands, and said again to the squire, "Give me also that sword."

"Nay," said the squire, "it is the King's sword; thou art not worthy to have it, for thou art but a knave; and if there were no more here than thou and I, thou durst not speak those words for as much gold in quantity as all yonder abbey."

"By my faith," said Wat Tyler, "I shall never eat bread till I have thy head"; and with those words the Mayor of London came to the King with a twelve men a-horseback, well armed under their coats, and so he brake the press, and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him, "Ha, thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the King's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee so to do."

Then the King began to chafe, and said to the mayor, "Set hands on him."

And while the King said so, Tyler said to the mayor, "I' God's name, what have I said to displease thee?"

"Truly," quoth the mayor, "thou false knave, shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the King my natural lord? I will not live a day without thou shalt pay dearly for this."

And with those words the mayor drew out his sword and strake Tyler so great a stroke on the head that he fell down at the feet of his horse; and as soon as he was fallen they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the King's alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and thrust it into Wat Tyler's belly, and so he died.

Then the people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves, and said, "Ah, our captain is slain; let us go and slay them

all." And therewith they ranged themselves on the place in manner of battle, and their bows before them.

Then the King did a bold thing, howbeit all turned to the best : for as soon as Tyler was on the ground, the King departed from all his company, and all alone he rode to these people, and said to his own men, "Sirs, none of you follow me ; let me alone." And so when he came before these ungracious people, who put themselves in order to revenge their captain, then the King said to them, "Sirs, what aileth you ? Ye shall have no captain but me : I am your king ; be all in rest and peace." And so the most part of the people that heard the King speak and saw him among them, were shame-faced and began to wax peaceable and to depart ; but some, such as were malicious and evil, would not depart, but made semblance as though they would do somewhat.

Then the King returned to his own company and demanded of them what was best to be done ; and he was counselled to draw into the field, for to fly away was of no avail. Then said the mayor, "It is good that we do so, for I think surely we shall have shortly some aid of them of London and of such good men as be of our part."

And in the mean time the rumour ran through London how these unhappy people were likely to slay the King and the mayor in Smithfield ; by reason of which report all manner of good men of the King's party issued out, well armed, and so came all to Smithfield and to the field where the King was ; and they were anon to the number of seven or eight thousand men, well armed. And first thither came Sir Robert Knolles and Sir Perducas d'Albret, well accompanied, and divers of the aldermen of London, and with them a six hundred men in harness, and a puissant man of the city, who was the King's

draper, called Nicholas Bramber, and he brought with him a great company. And ever as they came, they ranged them afoot in order of battle ; and on the other part these unhappy people were ready ranged, making semblance to give battle ; and they had with them divers of the King's banners. There the King made three knights, the one the Mayor of London, Sir William Walworth, Sir John Standish, and Sir Nicholas Bramber.

Then the lords said among themselves, " What shall we do ? We see here our enemies, who would gladly slay us if they might have the better hand of us." Sir Robert Knolles counselled to go and fight with them, and slay them all ; yet the King would not consent thereto, but said, " Nay, I will not so : I will send to them, commanding them to send me again my banners, and thereby we shall see what they will do ; howbeit, either by fairness or otherwise I will have them."

" That is well said, sir," quoth the Earl of Salisbury.

Then these new knights were sent to them ; and these knights made sign to them not to shoot ; and when they came so near them that their speech might be heard, they said, " Sirs, the King commandeth you to send to him again his banners, and we think he will have mercy on you." And anon they delivered again the banners and sent them to the King. Also they were commanded, on pain of their heads, all such as had letters of the King to bring them forth and to send them again to the King : and so many of them delivered their letters, but not all. Then the King made them to be all torn to pieces in their presence. And as soon as the King's banners were delivered again, these unhappy people kept none array, but the most part of them did cast down their bows, and so returned into London.

Sir Robert Knolles was sore displeased in that he

might not go to slay them all ; but the King would not consent thereto, but said he would be revenged of them well enough : and so he was after.

Thus these foolish people departed, some one way and some another ; and the King and all his company entered into London with great joy. And the first journey that the King made, he went to the lady princess his mother, who was in the castle in the Royal, called the Queen's Wardrobe, and there she had tarried two days and two nights right sore abashed, as she had good reason. And when she saw the King her son, she was greatly rejoiced, and said, " Ah, fair son, what pain and great sorrow I have suffered for you this day ! "

Then the King answered and said, " Certainly, madame, I know it well : but now rejoice yourself and thank God, for now it is time. I have this day recovered mine heritage and the realm of England, the which I had near lost." Thus the King tarried that day with his mother, and every lord went peaceably to their own lodgings.

Then there was a cry made in every street in the King's name, that all manner of men, not being of the city of London and not having dwelt there the space of one year, to depart : and if any such be found there the Sunday by the sun-rising, that they should be taken as traitors to the King, and should lose their heads. This cry thus made, there was none that durst break it ; and so all manner of people departed, and scattered abroad, every man to his own place.

John Ball and Jack Straw were found in an old house hidden, thinking to have stolen away, but they could not, for they were accused by their own men. Of the taking of them the King and his lords were glad ; and they strake off their heads, and Wat Tyler's also, and they were set on London Bridge, and the valiant men's

heads taken down that they had set there the Thursday before.

These tidings anon spread abroad, so that the people of other counties, which were coming towards London, returned back again to their own houses, and durst come no farther.

Now I shall show you the vengeance that the King of England took of these ungracious people. When these people were re-appeased and that Baker was executed to death, and Lister of Stafford, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball and divers others at London, then the King was counselled to go visit his realm, through every shire, bailiwick and village, to purge and punish all the said evil doers, and to get again all such letters as by force he had given them in divers places, and so to bring again his realm into good order. Then the King sent secretly for a certain number of men of arms to come to him at a day appointed ; and so they did, to the number of a five hundred spears and as many archers.

And when they were all come, the King departed from London with his household men only, and took the way into Kent, where first these ungracious people began to stir ; and these foresaid men of war followed after the King and coasted him, but they rode not in his company. The King entered into Kent, and came to a village called Ospringe, and called the mayor and all the men of the town before him ; and when they were all come into a fair place, the King made to be showed them by one of his council how they had erred, and now they had near turned all England to tribulation and to loss. And because that the King knew well that this business was begun by some of them, and not by all, wherefore it were better that some did bear the blame than all, therefore he commanded that they should show them that were

culpable, on pain to be for ever in the King's indignation and to be reputed as traitors. And when they that were there assembled heard that request, and saw well that such as were culpable should be the means to save all the others, then they beheld each other, and at last said, "Sir, behold him here by whom this town was first moved." Anon he was taken and hanged; and so there were hanged to the number of seven. And the letters that the King had given them were demanded again, and so they were delivered and torn in pieces before all the people. And it was said to them all, "Sirs, ye that be here assembled, we command you in the King's name on pain of death every man to go home to his own house peaceably, and never to grudge nor rise against the King nor any of his officers; and this trespass that ye have done, the King doth pardon you thereof." Then they cried all with one voice, "God bless the King's grace and all his council!"

In like manner as the King did at Ospringe, he did in other places in Kent and in all other places of his realm where any rebellion had been; and there were hanged and beheaded more than fifteen hundred.

XII

FROISSART'S JOURNEY TO ORTHEZ

How Sir John Froissart, author of this chronicle, departed out of France and went to the Earl of Foix, and the manner of his journey

IT is long sith I made any mention of the businesses of far countries, for the businesses nearer home have been so fresh that I left all other matters to write thereof. Howbeit, I, John Froissart, who have taken on me to chronicle this present history at the request of the high renowned prince Sir Guy of Châtillon, Earl of Blois, my sovereign master and good lord, considering in myself how there were no great deeds of arms likely to hap in the parts of Picardy or Flanders, and it greatly annoyed me to be idle, for I knew well that after my death this noble and high history should be greatly read; and as yet, I thank God, I have my wit quick and sharp enough to conceive all things showed unto me, and my body as yet able to endure and to suffer pain; all things considered, to the intent to know the truth of deeds done in far countries, I found occasion to go to the high and mighty prince Gaston, Earl of Foix and of Béarn. For I knew well that if I might have that grace to come into his house and to lie there at leisure, I could not be so well informed to my purpose in any other place of the world: for thither resorted

all manner of knights and strange squires, for the great nobleness of the said earl.

And so I showed to my redoubted lord the Earl of Blois mine intent, and he gave me letters of recommendation to the Earl of Foix.

In the season that I enterprised to go see the Earl of Foix, when I departed from Carcassonne I came to the good city of Pamiers, and there I tarried abiding for some company going into the country of Béarn, where the earl was. And when I had tarried there a three days in great pleasure, for the city was delectable, standing among fair vines and environed with a fair river large and clear, on a day it so fortunèd that thither came a knight of the Earl of Foix from Avignon-ward, called Sir Espaing de Lyon, a valiant and an expert man of arms, about the age of fifty years.

And so I gat me into his company ; and he was greatly desirous to hear of the matters of France ; and so we were a six days in our journey before we came to Orthez. And this knight every day after he had said his prayers, most part all the day after he took his pastime with me, in demanding of tidings ; and also when I demanded anything of him, he would answer me to my purpose.

And when we departed from Pamiers, we passed by the town and castle of Artigat, and so came to dinner to a castle of the Earl of Foix, half a league thence, called Carlat, standing high on a mountain. And after dinner the knight said to me, “ Sir, let us ride together fair and easily ; we have but two leagues to ride to our lodging ” ; and so I was content to do.

Then the knight said, “ We have this day passed by the castle of Artigat, which doth much damage in this country : Pierre d'Antin keepeth it, and hath taken

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and stolen out of the realm of France more than three-score thousand franks."

Then I demanded how that might be.

"I shall show you," quoth the knight. "On our Lady's day in August there is ever a great fair, and all the country resorteth thither, for there is much merchandise: that day Pierre d'Antin and his companions of Lourdes had taken counsel together and were determined to get this town and castle. And so they sent two simple varlets, by seeming, to the said town in the month of May, to get themselves some service in the town. And so they did, and were retained with two masters; and they did right diligent service, and so went in and out on their master's business without any one having suspicion of them.

"And so on our Lady's day in August there were many merchants, strangers, of Foix, of Béarn, and of France: and as ye know well, when merchants do meet that saw not one another for long before, they will make good cheer together: and so in the same houses where these two varlets were in service, were many merchants drinking and making good cheer, and their hosts with them.

"And by appointment about midnight Pierre d'Antin and his company came to Artigat, and ambushed themselves in a wood which we passed through. And they sent six varlets to the town with two ladders; and they passed the dykes, and came to the walls and reared up their ladders; and the other two varlets that were in service in the town did aid them, while their masters sat making good cheer. So these varlets did put themselves in adventure, and one of the said two varlets brought the other six to the gate within, where there were two men keeping the keys.

“Then this varlet said to the other six, ‘Sirs, keep yourselves here privy and close, and stir not till ye hear me whistle. I trust to make the porters to open the gate of their ward; they have the keys of the great gate; and therefore as soon as they have opened their ward, I will whistle: then step forth and slay the porters: I know well enough the keys of the gate, for I have oft-times helped to keep the gate with my master.’

“And as they devised, so they did: and so the varlet went to the gate, and saw and heard how the porters were drinking within their ward. Then he called them by their names, and said, ‘Sirs, open your door: I have brought you of the best wine that ever you drank, which my master hath sent you, to the intent you should keep your watch the better.’

“And they, who knew right well the varlet, believed that he had said truth, and opened the door: and then he whistled, and the other six stepped forth and entered in at the door; and there they slew the porters so privily that none knew thereof.

“Then they took the keys, and went and opened the gate, and let down the bridge easily, that none knew thereof; then they blew a blast on a horn, so that they that were ambushed mounted on their horses, and came on the spur, and entered on the bridge and came into the town, and so took all the men of the town sitting drinking, or else in their beds. Thus was Artigat taken by Pierre d’Antin of Bigorre and by his companions of Lourdes.”

Then I demanded of the knight how they gat the castle.

“I shall show you,” quoth he. “The same time that Artigat was thus taken, the captain of the castle by evil adventure was in the town, and supped with certain merchants of Carcassonne, and was there taken among

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others. And the next morning Pierre d'Antin brought him before the castle, where his wife and children were, and made them believe that he would strike off his head without his wife would deliver up the castle; and if she would do so, he promised to deliver her husband quit, and to suffer him and all his to depart with bag and baggage, without any hurt. And the lady, who saw herself in a hard case, and saw she was not able to make war herself, for saving of her husband's life she yielded up the castle. And so her husband and she and all theirs departed, and went to Pamiers.

"Thus had Pierre d'Antin the town and castle of Artigat; and the same time that they entered, he and his company won above thirty thousand franks, what in merchandise and prisoners of France; but all such as were of the county of Foix or of Béarn were clean delivered without any damage. And this Pierre d'Antin kept Artigat the space of five year; and he and his company oft-times would run to the gates of Carcassonne, which was a six leagues thence, and did great damage to the country, as well by taking ransoms of towns as by pillage over all the country.

"Also the same time there was an expert man of arms in the castle of Lourdes, a Gascon born; he was called the Mongat de Ste Bazeille. On a time he departed from Lourdes, and four with him, without any armour, and he did on the habit of a monk, and had the others like monks with him; and they had all shaven crowns, so that every man that saw them weened surely that they had been monks, the habit and gesture became them so well. And in this manner he came to Montpellier, and took up his lodging at the sign of the Angel, and said how he was an abbot of High Gascony, and was going to Paris on certain business pertaining to

his house. And so he gat familiar acquaintance with a rich man of the town, called Beranger, who had also to go to Paris for certain business. Then this abbot said how he would pay for his costs if he list to go in his company, whereof the good man was right joyous in that he should have his charges borne ; and so he and one varlet with him went forth with this monk. And when they had ridden a three leagues this counterfeit monk, Sir Mongat, took him prisoner, and led him secret ways to his garrison of Lourdes, and after did ransom him at five thousand franks."

Then I said, "Ah, St Mary ! was this Mongat such an expert man of arms ?"

"Yea, truly, sir," quoth he, "and in war he died, in a place where we shall pass within this three days, in a country called the Laire in Bigorre."

"Well, sir," quoth I, "and I shall remember you thereof when we come there."

And so we rode till we came to Montesquieu ; and in the morning we departed from Montesquieu and rode to the town of Palaminich. And when we were almost there we had thought to have passed the bridge of Garonne, to have entered into the town, but we could not ; for the day before it had so sore rained from the mountains of Catalonia and Aragon, whereby another river was so increased, which was called Salat, and ran so fast that it raised up the river of Garonne in such wise that it brake one of the arches of the bridge, which was of timber : wherefore we returned again to Montesquieu, and tarried there all the day.

Then the next day the knight had counsel to pass the river by boats by the town of Casseres ; so we rode thither, and did so much that we passed the river of Garonne with great pain and peril, for the boat that

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we were in was not very great; it could not take at one time but two horses and their keepers, and them that ruled the boat. And so when we were over, we rode to Casseres, and abode there all that day.

And the next day we rode along by the river of Garonne, and what on the one side and on the other, we saw many fair castles and fortresses; all that were on our left hand pertained to the Earl of Foix, and the other side pertained to the Earl of Armagnac. And so we passed by Montpezac, a fair castle and a strong, standing on an high rock, and underneath was the town and the highway, and without the town a little there was a pass called La Garde, and a tower between the rock and the river, which tower had a gate and a portcullis of iron: six men might well keep this passage against all the world, for there could none pass but two abreast, what for the tower on the one side and the river on the other.

Then I said to the knight, "Sir, here is a strong passage, and a mighty country."

"It is true," quoth the knight, "and yet though the entry be strong, the Earl of Foix did conquer it once, and he and all his passed the same way, with the help of the archers of England that he had then in his company, and the great desire that they had to pass into the country. Come, ride near me, sir," quoth he, "and I shall show you how it was."

And so I rode just by him, and then he said, "Sir, on a time the Earl of Armagnac and the Lord d'Albret with a five hundred men of war came into the country of Foix and to the marches of Pamiers, and this was in the beginning of August, when men did gather in their corn, and the grapes were ripe, at which time there was great abundance in the country. Then Sir John of

Armagnac and his company lodged before the town Saverdun, a little league from the city of Pamiers; and he sent to them of Pamiers and said that without they would buy back their own corn and wines and pay him for them, he would burn and destroy all together. Then they of Pamiers were in great fear, for the earl their lord was far off from them, for he was as then in Béarn; and so they were fain to buy their own corn, and paid five thousand franks: but they desired fifteen days of respite, which was granted them.

“Then the Earl of Foix was informed of all this business, and he hasted him as much as he might, and assembled together his men, and came suddenly into the city of Pamiers with twelve hundred spears, and so had fought with Sir John of Armagnac, if he had tarried, but he departed and went into the county of Comminges. So he had no money of them of Pamiers, for he had no leisure to tarry therefor. But then the Earl of Foix claimed the same sum, for he said he was come and had saved their money and corn, and had put away all their enemies. And so he had it to pay his men of war therewith; and there he tarried till they had gathered in all their corn and vintage.”

And so we rode to St Goussens, and the next day we came to the town of Tournay, where we were lodged at the sign of the Star, and took our ease. And at supper-time the captain of Malvoisin, called Sir Raymond de Lane, came to see us, and supped with us, and brought with him four flagons of the best wine that I drank of in all my journey. Those two knights talked long together, and when it was late Sir Raymond departed, and returned to the castle of Malvoisin.

And the next morning we mounted on our horses, and rode toward the city of Tarbes, and entered into

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Bigorre; and we left the way to Lourdes, and came near to a castle called Mascaras at the entry of the country of Laire.

Then the knight said to me, "Sir John, behold here the pass of Laire"; and I beheld well the country, which seemed to me right strange: I thought myself but as lost there, if I had not been in company with that knight. Then I remembered the words that this knight had showed me two or three days before of that country of Laire and of the Mongat of Lourdes.

Then I said to him, "Sir, ye showed me the last day, that when we should be in the country of Laire, ye would show me more of the Mongat of Lourdes, and how he died."

"It is true, sir," quoth the knight; "come on and ride by me, and I shall show you."

Then I rode near him to hear his words, and he said, "Sir, in the season that Pierre d'Antin held the castle and garrison of Artigat, as I have showed you before, they of the garrison of Lourdes sometime rode forth at adventure far from their garrison; howbeit, they had not always the advantage, for ye may behold here the castle of Barbazon and the castle of Mascaras, wherein there were always many men of war, and in other French garrisons: and when these garrisons knew that they of Lourdes rode either towards Toulouse or Carcassonne, then they would lay bushments for them, and sometime take from them of Lourdes their prey and pillage, and sometime they escaped without any encounter.

"And on a time it fortuned that Ernauton de Ste Colomme and the Mongat de Ste Bazeille and sixscore spears of good men of war departed from Lourdes, and rode near to Toulouse; and at their returning they found

in the meadows a great number of beasts, oxen and kine, hogs, sheep and lambs ; and also they took divers of the good men of the country prisoners, and so drove all their prey before them.

“ Then it was showed to the captain of Tarbes, a squire of Gascony, called Ernauton Bisette, an expert man of arms, how they of the garrison of Lourdes were abroad, and were coming homeward with a great prey ; then he sent to the Lord of Benac and to certain other lords, certifying them how he would ride out against them of Lourdes. The knights and squires of the country of Bigorre agreed to ride forth, and assembled together at Tournay ; and with them there was the Bourg d’Espagne, who came from his garrison of St B  at ; so they were to the number of two hundred spears, and they had their spies abroad in the country, to know what they of Lourdes did.

“ On the other side they of Lourdes had abroad their spies, and so either party knew what the other did. When they of Lourdes knew how they of the French garrisons were abroad and tarried for them at Tournay, they took counsel what they might best do to save their prey. Then they determined to part their company in two : the one company to drive before them their prey, with all their varlets, and to go covertly by the Lande-de-Bouc, and so to pass the way by the bridge of Tournay, and to pass the river of Lesse between Tournay and Malvoisin ; and the other company to ride by the mountains, and to make show to go again into the country of Laire by Mascaras, and so to fall in between Barbazon and Montgaillard ; and they said that if they met together about Montgaillard then they should be in safe-guard, ‘ for then we shall be soon at Lourdes.’

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“ Thus as they ordained, so they did : and the one company took the way by the Lande-de-Bouc ; and the other, Ernauton de Ste Colomme and the Mongat de Ste Bazeille, with fourscore men of arms, and not ten varlets among them, they made themselves ready, and rode close together ; ever looking for their enemies, for they knew well they were abroad to watch for them.

“ In like manner as they of Lourdes had taken counsel how to return, in like wise the Frenchmen took counsel how they might encounter their enemies ; and Sir Monaut of Barbazon and Ernauton Bisette said to their company, ‘ Sirs, we know well how they of Lourdes are abroad in the fields, and drive before them great prey and many prisoners : it should be a great displeasure to us if they should scape : therefore let us put ourselves into two bushments ; we are company enough so to do.’

“ Then it was ordained that Ernauton and the Bourg d’Espagne and Sir Raymond of Benac, and others with a hundred spears, should keep the passage at Tournay ; for they knew well that they of Lourdes with their prey must needs pass the river. And it was ordained that the Lord of Barbazon and Ernauton Bisette, with a hundred spears, should ride at adventure. So thus they departed, and the Lord of Benac and the Bourg d’Espagne put themselves in a bushment between Malvoisin and Tournay ; and the other company rode and took the same way that we be now in, which is called the Laire, and here they met with them of Lourdes.

“ And when each of them saw the other, they alighted and made them ready to fight, and so came each against other, crying their cries, ‘ St George for Lourdes !’ and the other ‘ Our Lady of Bigorre !’ And so there

each came to other with hand-strokes, charging with their spears each at other a great space; and as I heard reported of them that were there, at the first brunt there was none overthrown. And so when each of them had a great space thrust each at other, they cast down their spears, and took their axes, and gave therewith each to other great and horrible strokes, every man with his match; and in that manner they fought together more than two hours. And when any of them had fought so long that they lacked breath, then they would fair and easily depart, and go sit down by a dyke-side that was full of water, and put off their basinets, and refresh themselves; and when they were well refreshed, they put on their basinets and returned again to fight. I believe there was not such a business nor a battle so well fought sith the battle that was in Brittany of thirty against as many, as this was here at Mascaras in Bigorre.

“Thus they fought hand to hand, and Ernauton de Ste Colomme was at the point to have been discomfited by a squire of the country called Guillonet de Salenges. This Ernauton de Ste Colomme had a varlet, who stood by and saw the battle, and fought not, for there was none that said anything to him; and when he saw his master all but overcome he was sorry, and so came to his master and took his axe out of his hands, and said, ‘Ernauton, go your ways and rest you; ye can no longer fight’; and then he with the axe went to the squire and gave him such a stroke on the head that he was stunned, and had near fallen to the earth. When Guillonet felt himself stricken, he was sore displeased and came against the varlet to have stricken him; but the varlet stepped aside under the stroke and embraced the squire, who was sore travailed with so

long fighting, and so the varlet, wrestling, overthrew him.

"Then the varlet said, 'I shall slay thee, without thou wilt yield thyself to my master.'

"'Who is thy master?' quoth the squire.

"'Ernauton de Ste Colomme,' quoth the varlet, 'with whom thou hast fought all this season.'

"The squire saw that he had not the vantage, but that he was under the varlet, who had a dagger ready to strike him; so he yielded him to render his body prisoner at Lourdes within fifteen days after, rescues or no rescues. This service did this varlet to his master; and, Sir John, I assure you there were many feats of arms done, and many overthrown and taken prisoners, some to yield themselves in a certain space at Tarbes, and some to come to Lourdes.

"They fought this day hand to hand, Ernauton Bisette with the Mongat de Ste Bazeille: they did many a feat of arms between them; and they fought so long, till they were so weary that they could aid themselves no longer; and there they were slain on the place, the Mongat of Lourdes, and Ernauton Bisette.

"Then ceased the battle by agreement of both sides, for they were so weary that they could scant hold their axes in their hands. Some unarmed them, to refresh themselves, and left their armour in the place. They of Lourdes bare away with them the Mongat slain, and the Frenchmen bare Ernauton Bisette to Tarbes. And to the intent that this battle should be had in remembrance, where the two squires fought there was set a cross of stone: behold yonder is the cross."

And with these words we came to the cross, and there we said for their souls a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria*.

"By my faith, sir," quoth I, "I am glad I have heard this, for this was a sharp business for so little a number. But, sir, what became of them that went with the prey?"

"I shall show you," quoth he. "They came to the part of Tournay beside Malvoisin, and there they found the bushment of the Bourg d'Espagne, who brake out of their bushment, and they of Lourdes could not draw back: they had no remedy but to adventure themselves. And I tell you truth, there was as sore a fight, and as long endured or longer, than that at Mascaras. And there the Bourg d'Espagne did marvels in arms: he had an axe in his hand; whosoever he strake therewith went to the earth, for he was big and well made, and not overcharged with much flesh. He took there with his own hands two captains; and there was slain a squire of Navarre, who was an expert man of arms: some that were at the business said that the Bourg d'Espagne slew him; and some said he was overcome for heat in his harness. Finally the prey was rescued, and all taken or slain that went therewith: there were but three saved themselves, and they were varlets. Thus fell this adventure: they of Lourdes never lost before so much as they lost then. They were courteously ransomed, and divers delivered by exchange one for another; for divers of them that fought at the pass of Laire were taken by them of Lourdes; therefore each party was courteous one to the other in ransoming of their companions."

"Ah St Mary! sir," quoth I, "is the Bourg d'Espagne so big a man as ye speak of?"

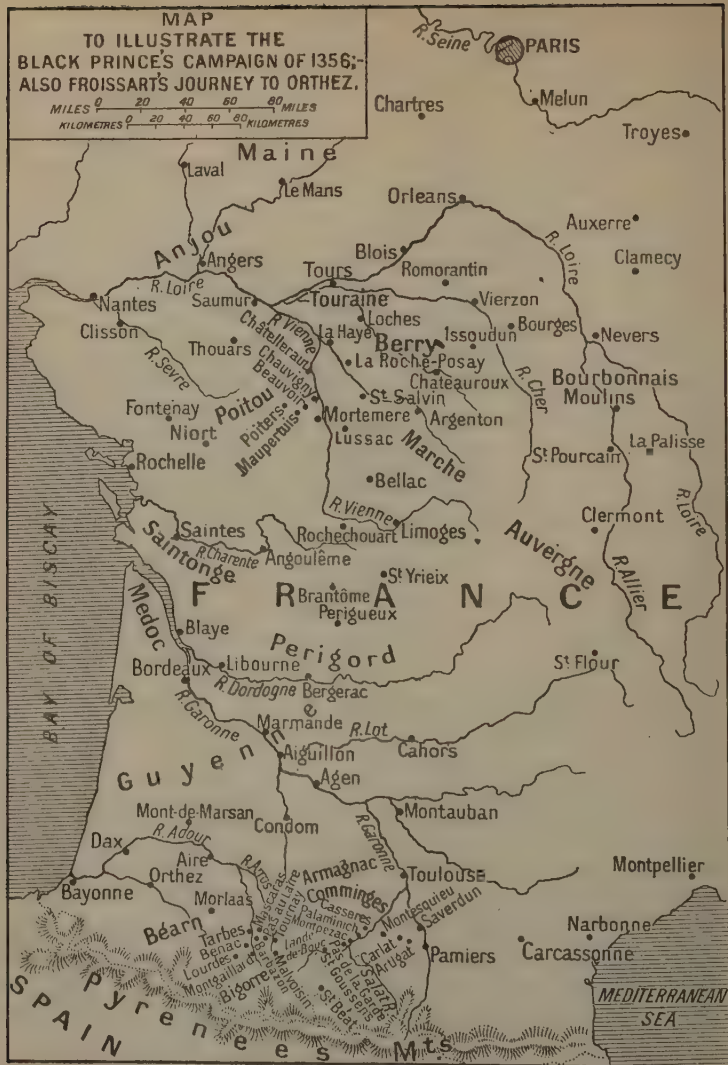
"Yea, sir, truly," quoth he; "for in all Gascony there is none like him in strength of body; therefore the Earl of Foix hath him ever in his company. It passed



The Bourg d'Espagne and the Ass

MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
BLACK PRINCE'S CAMPAIGN OF 1356;
ALSO FROISSART'S JOURNEY TO ORTHEZ.

MILES 0 20 40 60 80
KILOMETRES 0 20 40 60 80



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not a three year that he did in a sport a great deed, as I shall show you.

“So it was, on a Christmas day the Earl of Foix held a great feast and a plentiful of knights and squires, as is his usage; and it was a cold day, and the earl dined in the hall, and with him great company of lords. And after dinner he departed out of the hall and went up into a gallery of four-and-twenty steps of height, in which gallery there was a great chimney, wherein they made fire when the earl was there; and at that time there was but a small fire, for the earl loved no great fire; howbeit, he had wood enough thereabout, and in Béarn is wood enough. The same day it was a great frost and very cold; and when the earl was in the gallery and saw the fire so little, he said to the knights and squires about him, ‘Sirs, this is but a small fire, and the day so cold.’

“Then the Bourg d’Espagne went down the stairs, and beneath in the court he saw a great many asses, laden with wood to serve the house. Then he went and took one of the greatest asses, with all the wood, and laid him on his back, and went up all the stairs into the gallery, and did cast down the ass with all the wood into the chimney, and the ass’s feet upward: whereof the Earl of Foix had great joy, and so had all they that were there, and had marvel of his strength, how he alone came up all the stairs with the ass and the wood on his neck.”

I took great pleasure in this tale, and in others that this knight, Sir Espaing de Lyon, showed me, whereby I thought my journey much the shorter. And in showing of these matters we passed the pass of Laire and the castle of Mascaras, where the battle was; and so we rode near to the castle of Barbazon, which is within

a league of Tarbes ; then we rode fair and easily at our leisure to refresh our horses.

Then I demanded if ever the Earl of Foix were married.

"Yea truly," quoth he, "and is yet, but his wife is not with him."

"Why, sir, where is she ?"

"Sir," quoth he, "she is in Navarre, for the king there is her cousin : she was daughter to King Louis of Navarre."

Then I demanded if ever the earl had any children.

"Yes, sir," quoth he, "he had a fair son, who had his father's heart, and all the country loved him ; for by him all the country of Béarn was in rest and peace, whereas it hath been sith in debate and strife ; for he had married the sister of the Earl of Armagnac."

"Sir," quoth I, "what became of that son, an it may be known ?"

"Sir," quoth he, "I shall show you, but not now, for the matter is over long, and we are near the town, as ye see."

Therewith I left the knight in peace, and so we came to Tarbes, and took our lodging at the Star, and there tarried all that day ; for it was a town of great easement, both for man and horse, with good hay and oats, and a fair river.

All these matters that Sir Espaing de Lyon showed me right well contented me ; and every night, as soon as we were at our lodgings, I wrote ever all that I heard in the day, the better thereby to have them in remembrance ; for writing is the best remembrance that may be.

The next day after mass we mounted a-horseback and departed from Tarbes, and entered into the country of

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Béarn, and took the way to Morlaas, riding over the heaths of Béarn, which were right plain.

And ere we came to Morlaas I said, "Sir, if I durst, I would fain demand of you one thing: by what incident the Earl of Foix's son died?"

Then the knight studied a little, and said, "Sir, the manner of his death is right piteous; I will not speak thereof. When ye come to Orthez, ye shall find them that will show you, if ye demand it."

And then I held my peace, and we rode till we came to Morlaas. The next day we departed and by sun-setting we came to Orthez. The knight alighted at his own lodging, and I alighted at the Moon, where dwelt a squire of the earl's, Ernauton du Pin, who well received me, because I was of France.

Sir Espaing de Lyon went to the castle to the earl, and found him in his gallery, for he had but dined a little before; for the earl's usage was always that it was high noon before he arose out of his bed, and he supped ever at midnight. The knight showed him how I was come thither, and straightway I was sent for to my lodging; for he was the lord of all the world that most desired to speak with strangers, to hear tidings.

When the earl saw me, he made me good cheer, and retained me as of his house, where I was more than twelve weeks, and my horse well entreated. The acquaintance of him and of me was, because I had brought with me a book, which I made for Wenceslas of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant; which book was called the *Meliador*, containing all the songs, ballades, rondeaux and virelays which the gentle duke had made in his time and I had gathered together: which book the Earl of Foix was glad to see. And every night after supper I read thereon to him; and while I read

there was none durst speak any word, because he would I should be well understood; therein he took great solace; and when it came to any matter of question, then he would speak to me, not in Gascon, but in good and fair French. And of his estate and house I shall somewhat record, for I tarried there so long that I might well perceive and know much.

XIII

THE EARL OF FOIX AND HIS SON GASTON

Of the great virtuousness and largess that
was in the Earl of Foix ; and the manner
of the piteous death of Gaston,
the earl's son

THIS Earl Gaston of Foix, with whom I was, at that time was of a fifty year of age and nine ; and I say I have in my time seen many knights, kings, princes and others, but I never saw one like him of personage, nor of so fair form, nor so well made : his visage fair, sanguine and smiling ; his eyes grey and kindly, where he chose to set his regard. In everything he was so perfect that he cannot be praised too much. He loved that ought to be beloved, and hated that ought to be hated. He was a wise knight, of high enterprise and of good counsel ; he never had miscreant with him. He said many orisons every day, a nocturne of the psalter, matins of our Lady, of the Holy Ghost, and of the Cross. Every day he gave five florins in small money at his gate to poor folks for the love of God ; he was large and courteous in gifts ; he could right well take where it pertained to him, and deliver again where he ought. He loved hounds above all beasts ; winter and summer he loved hunting. He never loved folly, outrage, nor foolish largess ; every month he would know what he spent. He had certain

coffers in his chamber, out of the which oft-times he would take money to give to lords, knights and squires, such as came to him, for none should depart from him without some gift; and yet daily he multiplied his treasure, to provide against the adventures and fortunes that he doubted. He was of good and easy acquaintance with every man, and amorously would speak to them. He was short in counsel and answers. He had four secretaries, and at his rising they must ever be ready at his hand without any calling; and when any letter was delivered him, and he had read it, then he would call them to write again, or else for some other thing.

In this estate the Earl of Foix lived. And at midnight, when he came out of his chamber into the hall to supper, he had ever before him twelve torches burning, borne by twelve varlets standing before his table all supper; they gave a great light; and the hall was ever full of knights and squires; and many other tables there were, dressed to sup who would. There was none should speak to him at his table, but if he were called. His meat was commonly wild fowl, the legs and wings only; and in the day he did eat and drink but little. He had great pleasure in harmony of instruments, and could play right well himself; he would have songs sung before him. He would gladly see quaint plays at his table, and when he had seen them, then he would send them to the other tables.

Briefly, before I came to his court I had been in many courts of kings, dukes, princes, earls and great ladies, but I was never in one that pleased me so well, nor there was any one more rejoiced in deeds of arms than the earl did: there was seen in his hall, chamber and court, knights and squires of honour going up and down, and talking of arms and of amours; all honour there was

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found, all manner of tidings of every realm and country there might be heard. There I was informed of the most part of the deeds of arms done in Spain, in Portugal, in Aragon, in Navarre, in England, and in Scotland, and on the frontiers of Languedoc; for I saw come thither to the earl, while I was there, knights and squires of all nations, and so I was informed by them, and by the earl himself, of all things that I demanded.

There I enquired how Gaston the earl's son died, for Sir Espaing de Lyon would not show me anything thereof; and so much I enquired that an ancient squire and a notable man showed the matter to me, and began thus:—

“True it is,” quoth he, “that the Earl of Foix and my lady of Foix his wife agree not well together, and have not done so of a long season; and the discord between them was first moved by the King of Navarre, who was brother to the lady. For the King of Navarre, pledged himself for the Lord d’Albret, whom the Earl of Foix had in prison, for the sum of fifty thousand franks; and the Earl of Foix, who knew that the King of Navarre was crafty and malicious, in the beginning would not trust him, wherewith the Countess of Foix had great displeasure and indignation against the earl her husband, and said to him, ‘Sir, ye repute but small honour in the King of Navarre my brother, when ye will not trust him for fifty thousand franks; and, sir, ye know well ye should assign out my dower, which amounteth to fifty thousand franks, into the hands of my brother, the King of Navarre: wherefore, sir, ye cannot be ill paid.’

“‘Dame,’ quoth he, ‘ye say truth; but if I thought that the King of Navarre would stop the payment for that cause, the Lord d’Albret should never go out of Orthez, and so I should be paid to the last penny:

yet sith ye desire it, I will do it, not for the love of you, but for the love of my son.'

"So by these words, and by the King of Navarre's obligation, who became debtor to the Earl of Foix, the Lord d'Albret was delivered quit, and paid at his ease to the King of Navarre the sum of fifty thousand franks for his ransom, for the which sum the King was bound to the Earl of Foix, but he would not send it to the earl.

"Then the Earl of Foix said to his wife, 'Dame, ye must go into Navarre to the King your brother, and show him how I am not well content with him, for that he will not send me what he hath received of mine.'

"The lady answered how she was ready to go at his commandment; and so she departed and rode to Pampeluna, to the King her brother, who received her with much joy. The lady did her message from point to point; then the King answered, 'Fair sister, the sum of money is yours; the earl should give it for your dower; it shall never go out of the realm of Navarre, sith I have it in possession.'

"'Ah, sir,' quoth the lady, 'by this ye shall set great hate between the earl my husband and you; and if ye hold your purpose, I dare not return again into the county of Foix, for my husband will slay me: he will say I have deceived him.'

"'I cannot tell,' quoth the King, 'what ye will do, either tarry or depart; but as for the money, I will not part from it: it pertaineth to me to keep it for you, but it shall never go out of Navarre.' The countess could have none other answer of the King her brother, and so she tarried still in Navarre, and durst not return again.

"The Earl of Foix, when he saw the dealing of the

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King of Navarre, he began to hate his wife, and was ill content with her ; howbeit, she was in no fault, but that she returned not again when she had done her message ; but she durst not, for she knew well the earl her husband was cruel where he took displeasure : thus the matter standeth.

“ The earl’s son, called Gaston, grew and waxed goodly, and was married to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, a fair lady, sister to the earl that now is, the Lord Bertrand of Armagnac ; and by that marriage there should have been peace between Foix and Armagnac. The child was a fifteen or sixteen year of age, and resembled right well his father.

“ On a time he desired to go into Navarre to see his mother and his uncle, the King of Navarre ; which was in an evil hour for him and for all this country. When he was come into Navarre he had there good cheer, and tarried with his mother a certain space, and then took his leave : but for all that he could do, he could not get his mother out of Navarre, to have gone with him into Foix ; for she demanded if the earl had commanded him so to do or no, and he answered that when he departed the earl spake nothing thereof : therefore the lady durst not go thither, but so tarried still.

“ Then the child went to Pampeluna, to take his leave of the King his uncle. The King made him great cheer, and tarried him there a ten days, and gave to him great gifts, and to his men ; also the last gift that the King gave him was his death : I shall show you how.

“ When the time came that he should depart, the King drew him apart into his chamber, and gave him a little purse full of powder, which powder was such that if any creature living did eat thereof, he should straightway die without remedy. Then the King said, ‘ Gaston,

fair nephew, ye shall do as I shall show to you : ye see how the Earl of Foix, your father, wrongfully hath your mother, my sister, in great hate, whereof I am sore displeased, and so ought ye to be. Howbeit, to perform all the matter, and that your father should love again your mother, to that intent ye shall take a little of this powder and put it on some meat that your father may eat it ; but beware that no man see you. And as soon as he hath eaten it, he shall be eager for nothing but to have again his wife, and so love her ever after, which ye ought greatly to desire. And of this that I show you let no man know, but keep it secret, or else ye lose all the deed.'

"The child, who thought all that the King said to him had been true, said, 'Sir, it shall be done as ye have devised'; and so departed from Pampeluna, and returned to Orthez.

"The earl his father made him good cheer, and demanded tidings of the King of Navarre, and what gifts he had given him ; and the child showed him how he had given him divers, and showed him all except the purse with the powder.

"Oft-times this young Gaston and Yvain his bastard brother slept together, for they loved each other, and were like arrayed and apparelled, for they were near of a greatness and of an age. And it happened on a time as their clothes lay together on their beds, Yvain saw a purse at Gaston's coat, and said, 'What thing is this that ye bear ever about you?' whereof Gaston had no joy, and said, 'Yvain, give me my coat, ye have nothing to do therewith'; and all that day after Gaston was pensive.

"And it fortun'd a three days after, as God would that the earl should be saved, Gaston and his brother

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Yvain fell out together, playing at tennis, and Gaston gave him a blow, and the child went into his father's chamber and wept. And when the earl saw him weep, he said, 'Son Yvain, what ailest thou ?'

" 'Sir,' quoth he, 'Gaston hath beaten me ; but he were more worthy to be beaten than I.'

" 'Why so ?' quoth the earl, and straightway suspected something.

" 'By my faith, sir,' quoth he, 'sith he returned out of Navarre, he beareth privily at his breast a purse full of powder : I wot not what it is, nor what he will do therewith ; but he hath said to me once or twice that my lady his mother should shortly be again in your grace, and better beloved than ever she was.'

" 'Peace,' quoth the earl, 'and speak no more, and show this to no man living.'

" 'Sir,' quoth he, 'no more I shall.'

" Then the earl fell into a study, and so came to the hour of his dinner, and washed and sat down at his table in the hall. Gaston, his son, was used to set down all his service and make assay of his meats ; and when he had set down the first course, the earl cast his eyes on him and saw the strings of the purse hanging at his bosom. Then his blood changed, and he said, 'Gaston, come hither : I will speak with thee in thine ear.' The child came to him, and the earl took him by the bosom, and found out the purse, and with his knife cut it from his bosom. The child was abashed, and stood still and spake no word, and looked as pale as ashes for fear, and began to tremble. The Earl of Foix opened the purse, and took of the powder and laid it on a trencher of bread, and called to him a dog, and gave it him to eat ; and as soon as the dog had eaten the first morsel, he turned his eyes in his head, and forthwith died.

And when the earl saw that, he was sore displeased, and also he had good cause, and so rose from the table and took his knife and would have stricken his son.

"Then the knights and squires ran between them and said, 'Sir, for God's sake have mercy and be not so hasty : be well informed first of the matter, before ye do any evil to your child.'

"And the first word that the earl said was, 'Ah Gaston, traitor ! for to increase thine heritage that should come to thee, I have had war and hatred of the French king, of the King of England, of the King of Spain, of the King of Navarre, and of the King of Aragon, and have borne all their malice ; and now thou wouldest murder me : it cometh of an evil nature : but first thou shalt die with this stroke' ; and so he stepped forth with his knife and would have slain him.

"But then all the knights and squires kneeled down before him, weeping, and said, 'Ah sir, have mercy for God's sake ! Slay not Gaston your son ; remember ye have no more children. Sir, cause him to be kept, and take good information of the matter : peradventure he knew not what he bare, and peradventure is nothing guilty of the deed.'

"'Well,' quoth the earl, 'put him straightway in prison, and let him be so kept that I may have a reckoning of him.'

"Then the child was put into the tower ; and the earl took a great many of them that served his son (though some of them departed ; and as yet the Bishop of Lescar is at Pau, out of the country, for he was had in suspect, and so were divers others). The earl caused to be put to death a fifteen right horribly, and the cause that he laid to them was, he said, it could be none otherwise but that they knew of the child's secrets ;

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wherefore they ought to have showed this to him, and to have said, ‘Sir, Gaston your son beareth a purse at his bosom.’ Because they did not this, they died horribly; whereof it was great pity, for some of them were as fresh and as jolly squires as were any in all the country: for ever the earl was served with good men.

“This thing touched the earl near to the heart, and that he well showed: for on a day he assembled at Orthez all the nobles and prelates of Foix and of Béarn and all the notable persons of his country; and when they were all assembled, he showed them wherefore he sent for them, as how he had found his son in this default, for the which he said his intent was to put him to death, as he had well deserved. Then all the people answered with one voice, and said, ‘Sir, saving your grace, we will not that Gaston should die: he is your heir, and ye have no more.’

“And when the earl heard the people how they desired for his son, he somewhat restrained his ire; then he thought to chastise him in prison a month or two, and then to send him on some voyage for two or three year, till he might somewhat forget his ill will, and that the child might be of greater age and of more knowledge.

“Then he gave leave to all the people to depart; but they of Foix would not depart from Orthez till the earl should assure them that Gaston should not die: they loved the child so well. Then the earl promised them; but he said he would keep him in prison a certain space to chastise him; and so upon this promise every man departed, and Gaston abode still in prison.

“These tidings spread abroad into divers places; and at that time Pope Gregory XI. was at Avignon. Then he sent the Cardinal of Amiens in legation into

Béarn, to have come to the Earl of Foix for that business; but by the time he came to Beziers he heard such tidings that he needed not to go any farther for that matter: for there he heard how Gaston, son to the Earl of Foix, was dead. Sith I have showed you so much, now shall I show you how he died.

“The Earl of Foix caused his son to be kept in a dark chamber in the tower of Orthez a ten days. Little did he eat or drink, yet he had enough brought him every day, but when he saw it he would go therefrom; and some said that all the meat that had been brought him stood whole and entire the day of his death, wherefore it was great marvel that he lived so long. The earl caused him to be kept in the chamber alone without any company either to counsel or comfort him; and all that season the child lay in his clothes as he came in, and he argued in himself and was full of melancholy and cursed the time that ever he was born to come to such an end.

“The same day that he died, they that served him of meat and drink, when they came to him, they said, ‘Gaston, here is meat for you.’

“He made no care thereof, and said, ‘Set it down there.’

“He that served him regarded and saw in the prison all the meat stand whole as it had been brought him before; and so he departed and closed the chamber door, and went to the earl and said, ‘Sir, for God’s sake have mercy on your son Gaston, for he is near famished in prison; I think he never did eat anything sith he came into prison, for I have seen there this day all that ever I brought him before, lying together in a corner.’

“Of these words the earl was sore displeased, and

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without any word went out of his chamber and came to the prison where his son was ; and in an evil hour he had the same time a little knife in his hand to pare withal his nails, not an inch out of his hand. He opened the prison door and came to his son, and in great displeasure he thrust his hand to his son's throat, and the point of the knife a little entered into his throat into a certain vein ; and he said, ' Ah traitor ! why dost not thou eat thy meat ? ' and therewith the earl departed without any more doing or saying, and went into his own chamber.

" The child was abashed and afraid of the coming of his father, and also was feeble from fasting, and the point of the knife a little entered into a vein of his throat, and so he fell down suddenly and died.

" The earl was scant in his chamber when the keeper of the child came to him and said, ' Sir, Gaston your son is dead.'

" ' Dead ? ' quoth the earl.

" ' Yea truly, sir,' quoth he.

" The earl would not believe it, but sent thither a squire that was by him ; and he went and came again, and said, ' Sir, surely he is dead.'

" Then the earl was sore displeased and made great lament for his son, and said, ' Ah Gaston, what a poor adventure is this for thee and for me ! In an evil hour thou wentest to Navarre to see thy mother. I shall never have the joy that I had before.' Then the earl caused his barber to shave him, and clothed himself in black, and all his house ; and with much sore weeping the child was borne to the Friars in Orthez, and there buried.

" Thus as I have showed you, the Earl of Foix slew Gaston his son, but the King of Navarre gave the occasion of his death."

XIV

THE TALE OF ORTHON

How a spirit called Orthon served the Lord
of Corasse a long time, and brought him
ever tidings from all parts of the world

IT is great marvel to consider one thing, the which was showed me in the Earl of Foix's house at Orthez; thereon I have oftentimes thought, and shall do as long as I live. A certain squire told me that of truth the next day after the battle was fought at Aljubarrota in Portugal, where the King of Portugal discomfited the King of Castile and them of France and of Béarn who were with him, the Earl of Foix knew it; whereof I had great marvel.

For that Sunday, Monday and Tuesday the earl was very pensive, and so sad of cheer that no man could hear a word of him; and all the same three days he would not issue out of his chamber, nor speak to any man, though they were never so near about him. And on the Tuesday at night he called to him his brother, Arnaud Guillaume, and said to him with a soft voice, "Our men have had over much to do, whereof I am sorry; for it is come upon them by their voyage as I foresaid before they departed." Arnaud Guillaume, who was a sage knight, and knew right well his brother's ways, stood still and gave none answer; and then the earl, who thought to declare his mind more plainly, for long he had

borne the trouble in his heart, spake again higher than he did before, and said, "By God, Sir Arnaud, it is as I say, and shortly ye shall hear tidings thereof; the country of Béarn this hundred year never lost such a loss as they have done now in Portugal."

Divers knights and squires that were there present and heard him say so, stood still and durst not speak, but remembered his words. And within a ten days after, they knew the truth thereof by such as had been at the business, and showed everything as it was fortunèd at Aljubarrota. Then the earl renewed again his dolour, and all the country were in sorrow, for they had lost their parents, brethren, children and friends.

"St Mary!" quoth I to the squire that showed me this tale, "how is it that the Earl of Foix could know on one day what was done within a day or two before, being so far off?"

"By my faith, sir," quoth he, "as it appeared well, he knew it."

"Then he is a diviner," quoth I, "or else he hath messengers that fly with the wind, or he must needs have some craft."

The squire began to laugh, and said, "Surely he must know it by some art of necromancy or otherwise. To say the truth, we cannot tell how it is, but by our imaginations."

"Sir," quoth I, "such imagination as ye have therein, if it please you to show me, I would be glad thereof; and if it be such a thing as ought to be secret, I shall not publish it, nor as long as I am in this country shall I ever speak word thereof."

"I pray you thereof," quoth the squire, "for I would not it should be known that I should speak thereof; but I shall show you as divers men speak secretly when

they be together as friends." Then he drew me apart into a corner of the chapel at Orthez, and then began his tale and said :—

"It is well a twenty years past that there was in this country a baron called Raymond, Lord of Corasse, which is a seven leagues from this town of Orthez. This Lord of Corasse had the same time a plea at Avignon before the Pope for the tithes of his church, against a clerk curate there, the which priest was of Catalonia : he was a great clerk, and claimed to have right of the tithes in the town of Corasse, which were valued at a hundred florins by the year ; and the right that he had he showed and proved it, and Pope Urban the Fifth condemned the knight and gave judgment with the priest. And of this judgment the priest had letters of the Pope for his possession, and so rode till he came into Béarn, and there showed his letters and bulls of the Pope's for the possession of his tithes.

"The Lord of Corasse had great indignation at this priest, and came to him and said, 'Master Peter, or Master Martin, as his name was, thinkest thou that by reason of thy letters I will lose mine heritage ? Nay, be not so hardy that thou take anything that is mine : if thou do, it shall cost thee thy life. Go thy way into some other place to get thee a benefice ; for of mine heritage thou gettest no part, and once for always I forbid thee.'

"The clerk feared the knight, for he was a cruel man ; therefore he durst not persevere. Then he thought to return to Avignon, as he did ; but when he departed, he came to the knight, the Lord of Corasse, and said, 'Sir, by force and not by right ye take away from me the right of my church, wherein ye greatly hurt your conscience. I am not so strong in this country as ye

be ; but sir, know for truth, that as soon as I may, I shall send to you a champion whom ye shall fear more than me."

"The knight, who feared nothing his threatenings, said, 'God be with thee ; go : do what thou mayest ; I fear no more death than life : for all thy words I will not lose mine heritage.'

"Thus the clerk departed from the Lord of Corasse, and went, I cannot tell whither, to Avignon or into Catalonia, and forgat not the promise that he had made to the Lord of Corasse before he departed.

"For afterward, when the knight thought least on him, about a three months after, as the knight lay on a night a-bed in his castle of Corasse with the lady his wife, there came to him messengers invisible, and made a marvellous tempest and noise in the castle, that it seemed as though the castle should have fallen down, and strake great strokes at his chamber door, so that the good lady his wife was sore afraid. The knight heard all, but he spake no word thereof, because he would show no abashed courage ; for he was hardy to abide all adventures. This noise and tempest was in sundry places of the castle, and dured a long space, and at last ceased for that night.

"Then the next morning all the servants of the house came to the lord when he was risen, and said, 'Sir, have you not heard this night as we have done ?'

"The lord dissembled, and said, 'No, I heard nothing : what have you heard ?'

"Then they showed him what noise they had heard, and how all the vessels in the kitchen were overturned. Then the lord began to laugh, and said, 'Yea, sirs, ye dreamed : it was nothing but the wind.'

"'In the name of God,' quoth the lady, 'I heard it well.'

“The next night there was as great noise and greater, and such strokes given at his chamber door and windows as though all should have broken in pieces. The knight started up out of his bed, and demanded who was at his chamber door that time of the night; and anon he was answered by a voice that said, ‘I am here.’

“Quoth the knight, ‘Who sent thee hither?’

“‘The clerk of Catalonia sent me hither,’ quoth the voice, ‘to whom thou doest great wrong, for thou hast taken from him the rights of his benefice: I will not leave thee in rest till thou hast made him a good account, so that he be pleased.’

“Quoth the knight, ‘What is thy name, that art so good a messenger?’

“Quoth he, ‘I am called Orthon.’

“‘Orthon,’ quoth the squire, ‘the service of a clerk is little profit for thee: he will put thee to too much pain if thou believe him. I pray thee leave him, and come and serve me, and I shall give thee good thank.’

“Orthon was ready to answer, for he had conceived a great love for the knight, and said, ‘Wouldest thou fain have my service?’

“‘Yea truly,’ quoth the knight, ‘so thou do no hurt to any person in this house.’

“‘No more I will do,’ quoth Orthon, ‘for I have no power to do any other evil but to awake thee out of thy sleep, or some other.’

“‘Well,’ quoth the knight, ‘do as I tell thee, and we shall soon agree; and leave the evil clerk, for there is no good thing in him but to put thee to pain: therefore come and serve me.’

“‘Well,’ quoth Orthon, ‘and sith thou wilt have me, we are agreed.’

“So this spirit Orthon loved so the knight that often-

times he would come and visit him while he lay in his bed asleep, and either pull him by the ear, or else strike at his chamber door or window, to awake him; and when the knight awoke, then he would say, 'Orthon, let me sleep.'

" 'Nay,' quoth Orthon, 'that will I not do till I have showed thee such tidings as are fallen a-late.'

"The lady the knight's wife would be sore afraid, so that her hair would stand up, and she would hide herself under the clothes.

"Then the knight would say, 'Why, what tidings hast thou brought me?'

"Quoth Orthon, 'I am come out of England, or out of Hungary, or some other place, and yesterday I came thence, and such things are fallen, or such other.'

"So thus the Lord of Corasse knew by Orthon everything that was done in any part of the world. And in this case he continued a five year; yet he could not keep his own counsel, but at last discovered it to the Earl of Foix: I shall show you how.

"The first year the Lord of Corasse came on a day to Orthez to the Earl of Foix, and said to him, 'Sir, such things are done in England, or in Scotland, or in Germany, or in any other country; and ever the Earl of Foix found his saying true, and had great marvel how he should know such things so shortly. And on a time the Earl of Foix examined him so straitly that the Lord of Corasse showed him altogether how he knew it, and how Orthon came to him first.

"When the Earl of Foix heard that, he was joyful, and said, 'Sir of Corasse, keep him well in your love: I would I had such a messenger: he costeth you nothing, and ye know by him everything that is done in the world.'

"The knight answered and said, 'Sir, that is true.'

"Thus the Lord of Corasse was served with Orthon a long season. I cannot say if this Orthon had any more masters or not; but every week, twice or thrice, he would come and visit the Lord of Corasse, and would show him such tidings of anything that was fallen from whence he came; and ever the Lord of Corasse, when he knew anything, he wrote thereof ever to the Earl of Foix, who had great joy thereof, for he was the lord of all the world that most desired to hear news out of strange places.

"And on a time the Lord of Corasse was with the Earl of Foix, and the earl demanded of him and said, 'Sir of Corasse, did ye ever as yet see your messenger?'

"'Nay surely, sir,' quoth the knight, 'nor ever desired it.'

"'That is marvel,' quoth the earl; 'if I were as well acquainted with him as ye be, I would have desired to have seen him; wherefore I pray you desire it of him, and then tell me what form and fashion he is of: I have heard you say how he speaketh as good Gascon as either you or I.'

"'Truly, sir,' quoth the knight, 'so it is: he speaketh as well and as fair as any of us both do. And surely, sir, sith ye counsel me, I shall do my pain to see him, an I can.'

"And so on a night as he lay in his bed with the lady his wife, who was so inured to hear Orthon that she was no more afraid of him, then came Orthon and pulled the lord by the ear, who was fast asleep, and therewith he awoke and asked who was there.

"'I am here,' quoth Orthon.

"Then he demanded, 'From whence comest thou now?'

“ ‘I come,’ quoth Orthon, ‘from Prague in Bohemia.’

“ ‘How far is that hence?’ quoth the knight.

“ ‘A threescore days’ journey,’ quoth Orthon.

“ ‘And art thou come thence so soon?’ quoth the knight.

“ ‘Yea truly,’ quoth Orthon; ‘I came as fast as the wind, or faster.’

“ ‘Hast thou then wings?’ quoth the knight.

“ ‘Nay truly,’ quoth he.

“ ‘How canst thou then fly so fast?’ quoth the knight.

“ ‘Ye have nothing to do to know that,’ quoth Orthon.

“ ‘No?’ quoth the knight, ‘I would gladly see thee, to know what form thou art of.’

“ ‘Well,’ quoth Orthon, ‘ye have nothing to do to know that; it sufficeth you to hear me, and I to show you tidings.’

“ ‘In faith,’ quoth the knight, ‘I would love thee much better an I might see thee once.’

“ ‘Well,’ quoth Orthon, ‘sir, sith ye have so great desire to see me, the first thing that ye see to-morrow when ye rise out of your bed, the same shall be I.’

“ ‘That is sufficient,’ quoth the lord; ‘go thy way; I give thee leave to depart for this night.’

“ And the next morning the lord rose, and the lady his wife was so afraid that she durst not rise, but fained herself sick, and said she would not rise. Her husband would have had her to have risen. ‘Sir,’ quoth she, ‘then I shall see Orthon; and I would not see him by my good will.’

“ ‘Well,’ quoth the knight, ‘I would gladly see him.’ And so he arose fair and easily out of his bed, and sat down on his bedside, weening to have seen Orthon

in his own proper form ; but he saw nothing whereby he might say, ' Lo, yonder is Orthon.'

" So that day passed, and the next night came ; and when the knight was in his bed, Orthon came and began to speak, as he was accustomed.

" ' Go thy way,' quoth the knight ; ' thou art but a liar : thou promisedst that I should have seen thee, and it was not so.'

" ' No ? ' quoth he ; ' and I showed myself to thee.'

" ' That is not so,' quoth the lord.

" ' Why,' quoth Orthon, ' when ye rose out of your bed saw you nothing ? '

" Then the lord studied a little, and bethought himself well. ' Yes, truly,' quoth he, ' now I remember me, as I sat on my bed's side, thinking on thee, I saw two straws on the pavement, tumbling one upon another.'

" ' That same was I,' quoth Orthon ; ' into that form I did put myself as then.'

" ' That is not enough for me,' quoth the lord ; ' I pray thee put thyself into some other form, that I may better see and know thee.'

" ' Well,' quoth Orthon, ' ye will do so much that ye will lose me and I go from you, for ye desire too much of me.'

" ' Nay,' quoth the knight, ' thou shalt not go from me : let me see thee once, and I will desire no more.'

" ' Well,' quoth Orthon, ' ye shall see me to-morrow : take heed, the first thing that ye see after ye be out of your chamber, it shall be I.'

" ' Well,' quoth the knight, ' I am then content ; go thy way, let me sleep.' And so Orthon departed.

" And the next morning the lord arose and issued out of his chamber, and went to a window and looked down

into the court of the castle, and cast about his eyes; and the first thing he saw was a sow, the greatest that ever he saw; and she seemed to be so lean and evil favoured that there was nothing on her but the skin and the bones, with long ears and a long lean snout. The Lord of Corasse had marvel of that lean sow, and was weary of the sight of her, and commanded his men to fetch his hounds, and said, 'Let the dogs hunt her to death and devour her.'

"His servants opened the kennels and let out his hounds, and did set them on this sow; and at the last the sow made a great cry, and looked up to the Lord of Corasse as he looked out at a window, and so suddenly vanished away, no man wist how.

"Then the Lord of Corasse entered into his chamber right pensive, and then he remembered him of Orthon his messenger, and said, 'I repent me that I set my hounds on him; it is a chance if ever I hear any more of him, for he said to me oftentimes that if I displeased him, I should lose him.' The lord said truth, for never after he came into the castle of Corasse; and also the knight died the same year next following.

"Lo, sir," quoth the squire, "thus I have showed you the life of Orthon, and how a season he served the Lord of Corasse with new tidings."

"It is true, sir," quoth I; "but now, as to your first purpose: is the Earl of Foix served with such a messenger?"

"Surely," quoth the squire, "it is the imagination of many that he hath such messengers; for there is nothing done in any place, but an he set his mind thereto, he will know it, and that when men think least thereof: and so did he when the good knights and squires of this country were slain in Portugal at Aljubarrota. Some

saith the knowledge of such things hath done him much profit ; for an there be but the value of a spoon lost in his house, anon he will know where it is."

So thus then I took leave of the squire, and went to other company ; but I bare well away his tale.

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XV

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN

How the lords of Scotland raised up an army
to enter into England ; and of an English
squire, who was taken by the Scots

YE have heard how King Richard of England had some trouble, he against his uncles, and his uncles against him, with other divers incidents. And by the new counsellors about the King, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Neville, who had been the chief ruler and keeper of the frontiers of Northumberland against the Scots five years together, was then put out of wages : and there was set in his stead the Lord Henry Percy ; whereof certain other lords had great envy and indignation : and all this knew right well the Scots.

Then the lords and knights of Scotland determined once again to raise up an army and to make a journey into England, for they saw the Englishmen were not all of one accord ; and whereas oftentimes past they had received great buffets, then they said it was good time for them to be revenged. And to the intent that their purpose should not be known, they ordained a feast to be holden on the frontier of the wild Scots, at a city called Aberdeen, where assembled, in a manner, all the lords of Scotland. At this feast they concluded and made full promise, that in the midst of August,

the year of our Lord 1388, they should meet all with their puissance on the frontiers of Cumberland, at a castle in the high forest called Jedworth. Thus at that time they departed each from other; and of this covenant there was none of them that made their King privy thereto, for they said among themselves, their King was no man of war.

There came to Jedworth at the day appointed, first the Earl James Douglas, John Earl of Moray, the Earl of March and Dunbar, William Earl of Fife, and Stephen, Earl of Menteith, Sir Archibald Douglas, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir Malcolm Drummond, Sir William Lindsay and Sir James his brother, the Lord Seton, Sir John Sandilands, Sir Patrick of Dunbar, Sir John Sinclair, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir John, son to the Lord Montgomery, Sir Simon Glendinning, Sir William Rutherford, Sir John Haliburton, Sir Stephen Fraser, Sir Alexander Ramsay, and Sir John his brother, Sir William Mowbray, Sir Robert Hart, Sir John Edmonstone, and Davy his son, Robert Campbell, and divers other knights and squires of Scotland. In threescore year before there was not assembled together in Scotland such a number of good men; they were a twelve hundred spears and forty thousand men beside, with their archers; but in time of need the Scots show little skill with their bows: they rather bear axes, wherewith they give great strokes.

When they were thus met together in the marches of Jedworth, they were merry and said they would never enter again into their own houses till they had been in England and done such deeds there that it should be spoken of twenty year after. And to the intent to make sure appointment, they assigned a day to meet at a church in a fair place called Southdean.

Tidings came into Northumberland (as nothing can

be hid if men put to their diligence to know), both to the earl and to his children, to the seneschal of York, and to Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, of this great feast that had been at Aberdeen; and to the intent to know wherefore it was, these lords sent to search covertly by heralds and minstrels. The Scots could not do their matters so secretly but the lords of England knew how men rose in Scotland and how they should meet again at Jedworth; and when the lords knew of this, every man took good heed to his charge, and they provided themselves ready to assemble if need were: this they did secretly, that their enterprise should not be thwarted.

And the better to know the state of the Scots, they sent a gentleman of England, who knew right well the marches of Scotland, and specially the forest of Jedworth, where the Scots should assemble. And the English squire went so forward that without being espied he came to the church of Southdean, where the Scottish lords were, and he entered in among them like one of their servants; and there he heard and knew a great part of the intents of the Scots. And at the end of their council the squire went to a tree where he had tied his horse, and thought to have found him there, but he was gone; for a Scot (they be great thieves) had stolen him away. He durst not speak for him, but so went forth afoot, booted and spurred; and when he was gone from the church two bow-shot, then there were two Scottish knights spake between themselves and said one to the other, "Fellow, I have seen a marvel: behold yonder a man goeth alone, and as I think, he hath lost his horse, for he came by and spake no word; I ween he be none of our company: let us ride after him to prove my saying."

They rode after him, and soon overtook him. When he saw them coming, he would gladly have been thence. Then they came to him, and demanded whither he would, and from whence he came, and what he had done with his horse. He began to vary in his saying, and answered not directly to their purpose. They turned him, and said he should go and speak with their lords : and so they brought him again to the church of Southdean, and presented him to the Earl Douglas and to other lords.

They examined him, and perceived well he was an Englishman ; then they said they would know the truth why he came thither. He was ill willing to show the truth, but they handled him in such wise that he was fain to show all the matter ; for without he would show the truth, they said forthwith he should lose his head ; and if he would show the truth, he should have none evil. There they knew by him that the lords of Northumberland had sent him thither to know the state of their enterprise, and which way they would draw : hereof the Scots were right joyous.

Then they demanded again of him in what part the English lords were, and whether there were any appearance that they would assemble together, and what way they would take to enter into Scotland, either by the sea-side by Berwick, or else by Dunbar, or else the high way by the country of Monteith toward Stirling.

The squire answered and said, “ Sirs, sith it behoveth me to say the truth, I shall. When I departed from them from Newcastle, there was none appearance of their assembling ; but they be on a readiness to depart, as well to-day as to-morrow ; and as soon as they know that ye set forward and enter into England, they will not come to meet with you, for they be not of the power

so to do, nor to fight with you, sith ye be so great a number as it is said in England that ye be."

"Why," quoth the Earl of Moray, "what number do they repute us at?"

"Sir," quoth he, "it is said how ye be a forty thousand men and twelve hundred spears. And, sir, if ye take the way into Cumberland, they will go to Berwick, and so to Dunbar, to Edinburgh, or else to Dalkeith; and if ye take not that way, then they will go by Carlisle, and into the mountains of the country."

When the lords heard that, each of them regarded other. Then the English squire was put to the keeping of the Constable of Jedworth, and it was commanded that he should be surely kept. Then in the same place they went again to council.

The lords of Scotland were right joyful that they knew surely the intent of their enemies; and then they demanded counsel what way was best for them to take. The wisest and best expert in war spake first, and that was Sir Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Fife, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir James Lindsay. They said, "For fear of failing of our intent, we counsel that we make two armies, to the intent that our enemies shall not know whereunto to attend: and let the most part of our host and carriage go by Carlisle in Cumberland, and let the other company, of a three or four hundred spears and two thousand of other, well horsed, draw towards Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and pass the river, and enter into the bishopric of Durham, and burn and waste the country. We shall make a great broil in England before our enemies be provided; and if we see that they do follow us, as they will do, then let us draw all our companies together, and take a good place and fight with them: we doubt not but we shall

have honour; then let us be revenged of the damages they have done to us."

This counsel was accepted, and it was ordained that Sir Archibald Douglas and more than twenty other great lords of Scotland should lead the most part of the army towards Carlisle; and the Earl Douglas, Sir George Earl of March and of Dunbar, and the Earl John of Moray, these three to be captains of three hundred spears of chosen men and of two thousand other men and archers, and they to go towards Newcastle and enter into Northumberland. Thus these two hosts departed each from other, each of them praying the other, that if the Englishmen followed either of their armies, not to fight with them till both their armies were joined together. Thus in the morning they departed from Jedworth and took the fields.

How the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy at the barriers before Newcastle-upon-Tyne

When the English lords saw that their squire returned not again at the time appointed, then they thought well that their squire was taken. The lords sent each to other to be ready whensoever they should hear that the Scots were abroad; as for their messenger, they thought him but lost.

Now let us speak of the Earl Douglas and those with him, for they had more to do than they that went by Carlisle. When the Earls of Douglas, of Moray, and of March and Dunbar, departed from the great host, they took their way, thinking to pass the water and to enter into the bishopric of Durham, and to ride to the town and then to return, burning and wasting the country,

and so to come to Newcastle, and to lodge there in the town in despite of all the Englishmen. And as they determined, so they did assay to do ; for they rode a great pace under cover, without doing of any pillage by the way, or assaulting of any castle, tower, or house, but so came into the Lord Percy's land, and passed the river of Tyne a three leagues above Newcastle, and at last entered into the bishopric of Durham, where they found a good country. Then they began to make war, to slay people, and to burn villages, and to do many sore displeasures.

At that time the Earl of Northumberland and the other lords and the knights of that country knew nothing of their coming. When tidings came to Newcastle and to Durham that the Scots were abroad, and that they might well see by the fires and smoke abroad in the country, the earl sent to Newcastle his two sons, and sent commandment to every man to draw to Newcastle, saying to his sons, " Ye shall go to Newcastle, and all the country shall assemble there, and I shall tarry at Alnwick, which is a passage that they must pass by : if we may enclose them, we shall speed well."

Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother obeyed their father's commandment, and came thither with them of the country. The Scots rode burning and wasting the country, that the smoke thereof came to Newcastle ; they came to the gates of Durham and skirmished there, but they tarried not long, but returned as they had ordained before to do, and what they found by the way, they took and destroyed. Between Durham and Newcastle is but twelve leagues English, and a good country : there was no town, without it were enclosed, but was burnt ; and they repassed the river of Tyne where they had passed

before, and then came before Newcastle, and there rested.

All the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle, and thither came the seneschal of York, Sir Ralph Lumley, Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Holton, Sir John Felton, Sir John Lilleburn, Sir Thomas Abingdon, the Baron of Hilton, Sir John Copledyke, and divers others, so that the town was so full of people that they wist not where to lodge.

When these three Scottish earls, who were chief captains, had made their enterprise in the bishopric of Durham and had sore overrun the country, then they returned to Newcastle, and there rested and tarried two days, and every day they skirmished. The Earl of Northumberland's two sons were two young lusty knights, and were ever foremost at the barriers to skirmish. There were many proper feats of arms done and achieved : there was fighting hand to hand. Among other there fought hand to hand the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy, and by force of arms the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy, where-with he was sore displeased, and so were all the Englishmen.

And the Earl Douglas said to Sir Henry Percy, "Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and shall set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith, that it may be seen far off."

"Sir," quoth Sir Henry, "ye may be sure ye shall not pass the bounds of this country till ye be met withal in such wise that ye shall make none avaunt thereof."

"Well, sir," quoth the Earl Douglas, "come this night to my lodging and seek for your pennon : I shall

set it before my lodging and see if ye will come and take it away.”

Then the Scots withdrew to their lodgings, and made that night good watch, for they thought surely to be awaked for the words they had spoken ; but they were not, for Sir Henry Percy was counselled not so to do.

The next day the Scots dislodged and returned towards their own country, and so came to a castle and a town called Pontland, and by force of arms won the castle. Then the town and castle were burnt ; and from thence the Scots went to the town and castle of Otterburn, an eight English mile from Newcastle, and there lodged.

That day they made none assault, but the next morning they blew their horns and made ready to assail the castle, which was strong, for it stood in the marsh. That day they assaulted till they were weary, and did nothing ; then they sounded the retreat and returned to their lodging. Then the lords drew to council to determine what they should do. The most part were of accord that the next day they should dislodge without giving of any assault, and draw fair and easily towards Carlisle ; but the Earl Douglas brake that counsel, and said, “ In despite of Sir Henry Percy, who said he would come and win again his pennon, let us not depart hence for two or three days. Let us assail this castle ; it is pregnable ; we shall have double honour. And then let us see if he will come and fetch his pennon : it shall be well defended.”

Every man accorded to his saying, what for their honour and for love of him. Also they lodged there at their ease, for there was none that troubled them : they made many lodgings of boughs and great herbs, and fortified their camp sagely with the marsh that was thereby, and their carriages were set at the entry into

the marshes, and they had all their beasts within the marsh lands.

Now let us speak of Sir Henry Percy and of Sir Ralph his brother, and show somewhat that they did. They were sore displeased that the Earl Douglas had won the pennon of their arms ; also it touched greatly their honours if they did not as Sir Henry Percy said he would, for he had said to the Earl Douglas that he should not carry his pennon out of England, and also he had openly spoken it before all the knights and squires that were at Newcastle. The Englishmen there thought surely that the Earl Douglas' band was but the Scots' vanguard, and that their host was left behind.

The knights of the country, such as were well expert in arms, spake against Sir Henry Percy's opinion, and said to him, " Sir, there fortuneth in war oftentimes many losses : if the Earl Douglas have won your pennon, he bought it dear, for he came to the gate to seek it, and was well fought : another day ye shall win as much of him, or more. Sir, we say this because we know well all the power of Scotland is abroad in the fields, and if we issue out and be not men enough to fight with them (and peradventure they have made this skirmish with us to the intent to draw us out of the town ; and the number that they be of, is, as it is said, above forty thousand men) they may soon enclose us, and do with us what they will. It were better yet to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and put all our country in peril."

These words refrained Sir Henry and his brother, for they would do nothing against counsel. Then tidings came to them by such as had seen the Scots and all their demeanour, what way they took, and where they rested.

How Sir Henry Percy and his brother, with
a good number of men of arms and
archers, went after the Scots to
win again his pennon; and how
they assailed the Scots before
Otterburn in their lodgings

It was showed to Sir Henry Percy and to his brother and to the other knights and squires that were there, by such as had followed the Scots from Newcastle and had well observed their doing, who said to Sir Henry and to Sir Ralph, "Sirs, we have followed the Scots privily, and have discovered all the country where they be. The Scots have taken the castle of Pontland, and from thence have gone to Otterburn, and there they lie this night. What they will do to-morrow we know not: they are ordained to abide there; and, sirs, surely their great host is not with them, for in all they pass not there a three thousand men."

When Sir Henry heard that, he was joyful and said, "Sirs, let us leap on our horses; for by the faith I owe to God and to my lord my father, I will go seek for my pennon, and dislodge them this same night." Knights and squires that heard him agreed thereto and were joyous, and every man made him ready.

The same evening the Bishop of Durham came thither with a good company, for he heard at Durham how the Scots were before Newcastle, and how that the Lord Percy's sons, with other lords and knights, should fight with the Scots; therefore the Bishop of Durham, to come to the rescue, had assembled up all the country, and so was coming to Newcastle. But Sir Henry Percy

would not abide his coming, for he had with him six hundred spears, knights and squires, and an eight thousand footmen ; they thought that sufficient number to fight with the Scots, if they were not but three hundred spears and three thousand others. Thus they departed from Newcastle after dinner, and set forth in good order, and took the same way as the Scots had gone, and rode to Otterburn, a seven little leagues from thence, and fair way ; but they could not ride fast because of their footmen.

And when the Scots had supped and some lain down to their rest, and were weary of travailing and assaulting of the castle all that day, and thought to rise early in the morning in the cool of the day to give a new assault, therewith suddenly the Englishmen came on them, and entered into the lodgings, weening it had been the masters' lodgings, but therein were but varlets and servants.

Then the Englishmen cried, " Percy ! Percy !" and entered into the lodgings ; and ye know well, where such affray is, noise is soon raised. And it fortunéd well for the Scots, for when they saw the Englishmen came to wake them, then the lords sent a certain of their servants to skirmish with the Englishmen at the entry of the lodgings ; and in the meantime they armed and apparelled them, every man under his banner and under his captain's pennon. The night was far on, but the moon shone so bright as it had been in a manner day ; it was in the month of August, and the weather fair and temperate.

Thus the Scots were drawn together and without any noise departed from their lodgings, and went about a little mountain, which was greatly for their advantage ; for all the day before they had well considered the place,

and said among themselves, "If the Englishmen come on us suddenly, then we will do thus and thus; for it is a jeopardous thing in the night if men of war enter into our lodgings: if they do, then we will draw to such a place, and thereby either we shall win or lose."

When the Englishmen entered into the field, at the first they soon overcame the varlets, and as they entered farther in, always they found new men to busy them and to skirmish with them. Then suddenly came the Scots from about the mountain, and set on the Englishmen before they were aware, and cried their cries, whereof the Englishmen were sore astonished. Then they cried "Percy!" and the other party cried "Douglas!"

There began a cruel battle, and at the first encounter many were overthrown of both parties. And because the Englishmen were a great number, and greatly desired to vanquish their enemies, they took their stand close together and greatly did put aback the Scots, so that the Scots were near discomfited. Then the Earl James Douglas, who was young and strong and of great desire to get praise and grace, and was willing to deserve to have it, and cared for no pain nor travail, came forth with his banner, and cried, "Douglas!" and Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother, who had great indignation against the Earl Douglas because he had won the pennon of their arms at the barriers before Newcastle, came to that part and cried "Percy!" Their two banners met and their men; there was a sore fight. The Englishmen were so strong and fought so valiantly that they drove the Scots back.

There were two valiant knights of Scotland under the

banner of the Earl Douglas, called Sir Patrick Hepburn and Sir Patrick his son; they acquitted themselves that day valiantly; the earl's banner had been won an they had not been there, they defended it so valiantly, and in the rescuing thereof did such feats of arms that it was greatly to their recommendation and to their heirs' for ever after.

It was showed me by such as had been at the same battle, as well by knights and squires of England as of Scotland, at the house of the Earl of Foix—for anon after this battle was done I met at Orthez two squires of England; also when I returned from Avignon I found also there a knight and a squire of Scotland—and I was informed by both sides how this battle was as sore a battle fought as hath been heard of before, of such a number; and I believe it well. For Englishmen on the one side, and Scots on the other, are good men of war; when they meet there is a hard fight without sparing; there is no “hold!” between them as long as spears, swords, axes or daggers will endure, but they lay on each upon other; and when they have well fought and the one side hath obtained the victory, they then glory so in their deeds of arms and are so joyful, that such as be taken, they shall be ransomed before they go out of the field; so that shortly each of them is so content with the other that at their departing courteously they will say, “God thank you.” But in fighting one with another there is no play nor sparing, and this is true, and shall well appear by this said encounter, for it was as valiantly foughten as could be devised, as ye shall hear.

How the Earl James Douglas by his valiant-
ness encouraged his men, who were in a
manner discomfited, and in his so
doing was wounded to death

Knights and squires were of good courage on both sides to fight valiantly : cowards there had no place, but hardiness reigned with goodly feats of arms, for knights and squires were so joined together at hand-strokes that archers had no place on either side. There the Scots showed great hardiness, and fought merrily with great desire of honour ; the Englishmen were three to one ; howbeit, I say not but the Englishmen did nobly acquit themselves, for ever they had rather been slain or taken in the place than flee.

Thus, as I have said, the banners of Douglas and Percy and their men were met each against other, envious who should win the honour of that day. At the beginning the Englishmen were so strong that they drove back their enemies ; then the Earl Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, seeing his men draw back, to recover the place and to show knightly valour, he took his axe in both his hands and entered so into the press that he made himself way in such wise that none durst approach near him, and there was none so well armed but feared the great strokes that he gave. Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field and discomfit his enemies ; but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once, the one strake him on the shoulder, the other on the breast, and the third strake him in the thigh, and he was sore hurt with all three strokes,

so that he was borne perforce to the earth, and after that he could not be again raised. Some of his knights and squires followed him, but not all, for it was night, and no light but by the shining of the moon.

The Englishmen knew well they had borne one down to the earth, but they wist not who it was ; for if they had known that it had been the Earl Douglas, they had been thereof so joyful and so proud that the victory had been theirs. Also the Scots knew not of that adventure till the end of the battle, for if they had known it, they should have sore despaired and been so discouraged that they would have fled away. Thus as the Earl Douglas was felled to the earth, he was stricken into the head with an axe, and another stroke through the thigh ; the Englishmen passed forth and took no heed of him ; they thought none otherwise but that they had slain a man of arms.

On the other part the Earl George of March and of Dunbar fought right valiantly and gave the Englishmen much ado, and cried, " Follow Douglas and set on the sons of Percy ! " Also Earl John of Moray with his banner and men fought valiantly and set fiercely on the Englishmen, and gave them so much to do that they wist not to whom to attend.

How in this battle Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt, and taken prisoner by a Scottish knight

Of all the battles and encounterings, great or small, that I have made mention of herebefore in all this history, this battle that I treat of now was one of the sorest and best foughten without cowardice or faint hearts ; for there was neither knight nor squire but did



He went ever forward like a hardy Hector

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his devoir and fought hand to hand. The Earl of Northumberland's sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, who were chief sovereign captains, acquitted themselves nobly ; and Sir Ralph Percy entered in so far among his enemies that he was closed in and hurt, and so sore handled that his breath was so short that he was taken prisoner by a knight of the Earl of Moray's, called Sir John Maxwell.

In the taking the Scottish knight demanded what he was, for it was in the night, so that he knew him not ; and Sir Ralph was so sore overcome and bled fast, that at last he said, " I am Ralph Percy."

Then the Scot said, " Sir Ralph, rescue or no rescue, I take you for my prisoner : I am Maxwell."

" Well," quoth Sir Ralph, " I am content ; but then take heed to me, for I am sore hurt : my hosen and my greaves are full of blood."

Then the knight saw by him the Earl of Moray, and said, " Sir, here I deliver to you Sir Ralph Percy as prisoner : but, sir, let good heed be taken him, for he is sore hurt."

The earl was joyful of those words, and said, " Maxwell, thou hast well won thy spurs." Then he delivered Sir Ralph Percy to certain of his men, and they stopped and wrapped his wounds. And still the battle endured, none knowing who had as then the better, for there were many taken and rescued again that came not to knowledge.

Now let us speak of the young James Earl of Douglas, who did marvels in arms before he was beaten down. When he was overthrown, the press was great about him, so that he could not rise, for with an axe he had his death's wound. His men followed him as near as they could, and there came to him Sir James Lindsay his

cousin, and Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, and other knights and squires. And by him was a gentle knight of his, who followed him all the day, and a chaplain of his, not like a priest but like a valiant man of arms, for all that night he followed the earl with a good axe in his hands, and still skirmished about the earl where he lay, and drove back some of the Englishmen with great strokes that he gave. Thus he was found fighting near to his master, whereby he had great praise, and thereby the same year he was made Archdeacon of Aberdeen. This priest was called Sir William of North Berwick ; he was a tall man and a hardy, and was sore hurt.

When these knights came to the earl, they found him in an evil case, and a knight of his lying by him, called Sir Robert Hart ; he had a fifteen wounds in one place and other. Then Sir John Sinclair demanded of the earl how he did.

"Right ill, cousin," quoth the earl, "but thanked be God there hath been but a few of mine ancestors that hath died in their beds. But, cousin, I require you, think to revenge me, for I reckon myself but dead, my heart fainteth oftentimes. My cousin Walter and you, I pray you raise up again my banner which lieth on the ground, and my squire, who bore it, slain. But, sirs, show neither to friend nor foe in what case ye see me in ; for if mine enemies knew it, they would rejoice, and our friends be discomfited."

The two brethren Sinclair and Sir James Lindsay did as the earl had desired them, and raised up again his banner, and cried, "Douglas !" Such as were behind and heard that cry drew together and set on their enemies valiantly, and overthrew many, and so drove the Englishmen back beyond the place where the

earl lay, who was by that time dead ; and so they came to the earl's banner, the which Sir John Sinclair held in his hands, with many good knights and squires of Scotland about him ; and still company drew to the cry of " Douglas ! " Thither came the Earl of Moray with his banner well accompanied, and also the Earl of March and of Dunbar ; and when they saw the Englishmen draw back, and their company assembled together, they renewed again the battle, and gave many hard and sad strokes.

How the Scots won the battle beside Otterburn, and there were taken prisoners Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy ; and how the Bishop of Durham and his company were discomfited among themselves

To say truth, the Englishmen were sorer travailed than the Scots, for they came the same day from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a six English miles, and went a great pace to the intent to find the Scots, which they did ; so that by their fast going they were near out of breath, and the Scots were fresh and well rested, which greatly availed them : for in the last skirmish they drove back the Englishmen in such wise that after that they could no more assemble together, for the Scots passed through their battles.

And it fortun'd that Sir Henry Percy and the Lord of Montgomery, a valiant knight of Scotland, fought together hand to hand right valiantly, without hindrance from any other, for every man had enough to do ; so long they two fought that perforce of arms Sir Henry

Percy was taken prisoner by the said Lord of Montgomery.

The knights and squires of Scotland right valiantly did acquit themselves. And on the English party, before that the Lord Percy was taken and after, there fought valiantly Sir Ralph Lumley, Sir Matthew Redman, Sir Thomas Ogle, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Holton, Sir Thomas Abingdon, Sir John Lilleburn, Sir William Walsingham, the Baron of Hilton, Sir John Copledyke, the Seneschal of York, and divers others, footmen.

Whereto should I write long process? This was a sore battle and well foughten; and as fortune is always changeable, though the Englishmen were more in number than the Scots, and were right valiant men of war and well expert, and at the first drove back the Scots, yet finally the Scots obtained the place and victory, and all the aforesaid Englishmen were taken, and a hundred more, saving Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, who, when he knew no remedy nor recoverance, and saw his company fly from the Scots and yield them on every side, took his horse and departed to save himself.

The same season, about the end of this discomfiture, there was an English squire called Thomas Waltham, a goodly and a valiant man, and that was well seen, for all that night he would neither fly nor yet yield him. It was said he had made a vow at a feast in England, that the first time that ever he saw Englishmen and Scots in battle, he would so do his devoir in such wise that either he would be reputed for the best doer on both sides, or else die in the doing. He was held a valiant and a hardy man, and did so much by his prowess that the Scots had marvel thereof, and so he was slain in fighting. The Scots would gladly have taken him alive, but he would never yield; he hoped ever to have been rescued.

And with him there was a Scottish squire slain, cousin to the King of Scots, called Simon Glendinning; his death was greatly lamented of the Scots.

This battle was fierce and cruel till it came to the end of the discomfiture; but when the Scots saw the Englishmen give way and yield themselves, then the Scots were courteous and set them to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner, "Sirs, go and unarm you and take your ease; I am your master"; and so made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage.

The chase endured a five English miles, and had the Scots had men enough, there had no Englishmen scaped, but either they had been taken or slain. And if Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Sutherland and others of the great company who were gone towards Carlisle had been there, by all likelihood they had taken the Bishop of Durham and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I shall show you how.

The same evening that the Percies departed from Newcastle, as ye have heard before, the Bishop of Durham with the rear-band came to Newcastle and supped. And as he sat at the table, he bethought him how he did not acquit himself well to see the Englishmen in the field and he to be within the town; straightway he caused the table to be taken away, and commanded to saddle his horses and to sound the trumpets, and called up men in the town to arm themselves and to mount on their horses, and footmen to order themselves to depart. And thus every man departed out of the town, to the number of seven thousand, two thousand on horseback and five thousand afoot.

They took their way toward Otterburn, where the battle had been; and by that time they had gone two

mile from Newcastle tidings came to them how their men were fighting with the Scots. Therewith the bishop rested there, and then came more flying fast, that they were out of breath. Then they were demanded how the matter went ; they answered and said, "Right ill ; we be all discomfited ; here cometh the Scots a-chasing of us." These tidings troubled the Englishmen, and they began to doubt. And again the third time men came flying as fast as they might. When the men of the bishopric of Durham heard of these evil tidings, they were abashed in such wise that they brake their array, so that the bishop could not hold together the number of five hundred. It was thought that if the Scots had followed them in any number, seeing that it was night, and the Englishmen were so abashed, the town had been won.

The Bishop of Durham, being in the field, had good will to have succoured the Englishmen, and recomforted his men as much as he could ; but he saw his own men fly as well as the others. Then he demanded counsel of Sir William Lucy and of Sir Thomas Clifford and other knights, what was best to do. These knights for their honour would give him no counsel ; for they thought to return again and do nothing should sound greatly to their blame, and to go forth might be to their great damage ; and so they stood still, and would give none answer ; and the longer they stood, the fewer they were, for some still stole away.

Then the bishop said, "Sirs, all things considered, it is none honour to put all in peril, nor to make of one evil twain. We hear how our company be discomfited, and we cannot remedy it ; for if we go to succour them, we know not with whom nor with what number we shall meet. Let us return fair and easily for this night to

Newcastle, and to-morrow let us draw together and go look on our enemies."

Every man answered, "As God will, so be it." Therewith they returned to Newcastle. Thus a man may consider the great default that is in men that be abashed and discomfited: for if they had kept them together and had turned again such as fled, they had discomfited the Scots. This was the opinion of divers; and because they did not thus, the Scots had the victory.

How Sir Matthew Redman departed from the battle to save himself; and how Sir James Lindsay was taken prisoner by the Bishop of Durham

I shall show you of Sir Matthew Redman, who was on horseback to save himself, for he alone could not remedy the matter. At his departing Sir James Lindsay was near to him, and saw how Sir Matthew departed; and this Sir James, to win honour, followed in chase Sir Matthew, and came so near him that he might have stricken him with his spear if he had list. Then he said, "Ah, sir knight, turn; it is a shame thus to fly. I am James Lindsay: if ye will not turn, I shall strike you on the back with my spear." Sir Matthew spake no word, but strake his horse with the spurs sorer than he did before.

In this manner he chased him more than three miles, and at last Sir Matthew's horse foundered and fell under him. Then he stepped forth on the earth, and drew out his sword, and took courage to defend himself; and the Scot thought to have stricken him on the breast, but Sir Matthew swerved from the stroke, and the spear-point entered into the earth; then Sir Matthew

strake asunder the spear with his sword. And when Sir James Lindsay saw how he had lost his spear, he cast away the truncheon and lighted afoot, and took a little battle-axe that he carried at his back, and handled it with his one hand quickly and deftly, in the which feat Scots be well expert, and then he set at Sir Matthew, and he defended himself properly. Thus they tourneyed together, one with an axe and the other with a sword, a long season, and no man to hinder them.

Finally Sir James Lindsay gave the knight such strokes, and held him so short, that he was put out of breath, in such wise that he yielded himself, and said, "Sir James Lindsay, I yield me to you."

"Well," quoth he, "and I receive you, rescue or no rescue."

"I am content," quoth Redman, "so ye deal with me like a good companion."

"I shall not fail that," quoth Lindsay, and so put up his sword.

"Well, sir," quoth Redman, "what will you now that I shall do? I am your prisoner; ye have conquered me. I would gladly go again to Newcastle, and within fifteen days I shall come to you into Scotland, wheresoever ye shall assign me."

"I am content," quoth Lindsay, "ye shall promise by your faith to present yourself within three weeks at Edinburgh, and wheresoever ye go, to repute yourself my prisoner."

All this Sir Matthew sware and promised to fulfil. Then each of them took his horse, and they took leave one of the other. Sir James returned, and his intent was to go to his own company the same way that he came; and Sir Matthew went to Newcastle.

Sir James Lindsay could not keep the right way as

he came : it was dark and a mist, and he had not ridden half a mile but he met face to face with the Bishop of Durham and more than five hundred Englishmen with him. He might well have escaped, but he supposed it had been his own company that had pursued the Englishmen. When he was among them, one demanded of him who he was.

“ I am,” quoth he, “ Sir James Lindsay.”

The Bishop heard those words, and stepped to him, and said, “ Lindsay, ye are taken : yield ye to me.”

“ Who be you ? ” quoth Lindsay.

“ I am,” quoth he, “ the Bishop of Durham.”

“ And from whence come you, sir ? ” quoth Lindsay.

“ I come from the battle,” quoth the bishop, “ but I struck never a stroke there : I go back to Newcastle for this night, and ye shall go with me.”

“ I may not choose,” quoth Lindsay, “ sith ye will have it so. I have taken, and I am taken : such are the adventures of arms.”

“ Whom have ye taken ? ” quoth the bishop.

“ Sir,” quoth he, “ I took in the chase Sir Matthew Redman.”

“ And where is he ? ” quoth the bishop.

“ By my faith, sir, he is returned to Newcastle : he desired me to trust him on his faith for three weeks, and so have I done.”

“ Well,” quoth the bishop, “ let us go to Newcastle, and there ye shall speak with him.”

Thus they rode to Newcastle together, and Sir James Lindsay was prisoner to the Bishop of Durham.

When the Bishop of Durham was come again to Newcastle and in his lodging, he was sore pensive, and wist not what to say or do ; for he heard say how his cousins the Percies were slain or taken, and all the

knights that were with them. Then he sent for all the knights and squires that were in the town; and when they were come, he demanded of them if they should leave the matter in that case, and said, "Sirs, we shall bear great blame if we thus return without looking on our enemies."

Then they concluded by the sun-rising every man to be armed, and on horseback and afoot to depart out of the town and to go to Otterburn to fight with the Scots. This was warned through the town by a trumpet; and every man armed and assembled before the bridge, and by the sun-rising they departed by the gate towards Berwick and took the way towards Otterburn, to the number of ten thousand, what afoot and a-horseback. They were not gone past two mile from Newcastle, when the Scots were signified that the Bishop of Durham was coming to themward to fight: this they knew by their spies, such as they had set in the fields.

After that Sir Matthew Redman was returned to Newcastle and had showed to divers how he had been taken prisoner by Sir James Lindsay, then it was showed him how the Bishop of Durham had taken the said Sir James Lindsay, and how that he was there in the town as his prisoner. As soon as the bishop was departed, Sir Matthew Redman went to the bishop's lodging to see his master, and there he found him in a deep study, lying in a window; and said, "What, Sir James Lindsay, what make you here?"

Then Sir James Lindsay came forth of his study and gave him good-morrow, and said, "By my faith, Sir Matthew, fortune hath brought me hither: for as soon as I was departed from you, I met by chance the Bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, as ye be to me.

I believe ye shall not need to come to Edinburgh to ransom you ; I think rather we shall make an exchange one for another, if the bishop be so content."

" Well, sir," quoth Redman, " we shall accord right well together : ye shall dine this day with me. The bishop and our men be gone forth to fight with your men : I cannot tell what shall fall ; we shall know at their return."

" I am content to dine with you," quoth Lindsay. Thus these two knights dined together in Newcastle.

When the knights of Scotland were informed how the Bishop of Durham came on them with ten thousand men, they drew to council to see what was best for them to do, either to depart or else to abide the adventure. All things considered, they concluded to abide, for they said they could not be in a better nor a stronger place than they were in already : they had many prisoners, and they could not carry them away if they should have departed ; and also they had many of their men hurt, and also some of their prisoners, whom they thought they would not leave behind them. Thus they drew together and ordered so their field that there was no entry but one way, and they set all their prisoners together, and made them to promise how that, rescue or no rescue, they should be their prisoners. After that they made all their minstrels to blow up all at once, and made the greatest revel of the world. For it is the usage of the Scots, that when they be thus assembled together in arms, the footmen bear about their necks horns in manner like hunters, some great, some small, and of all sorts, so that when they blow all at once they make such a noise that it may be heard nigh four miles off : this they do to abash their enemies and to rejoice themselves.

When the Bishop of Durham with his banner and ten thousand men with him were approached within a league, then the Scots blew their horns so that such as heard them and knew not of their usage were sore abashed. This blowing and noise endured a long space and then ceased ; and by the time the Englishmen were within less than a mile, the Scots began to blow again and made a great noise, and this endured as long as it did before.

Then the bishop approached with his battle well ranged in good order, and came within sight of the Scots, within two bow-shot or less ; then the Scots blew again their horns a long space. The bishop stood still to see what the Scots would do, and aviewed them well, and saw how they were in a strong ground, greatly to their advantage. Then the bishop took counsel what was best for him to do ; but all things well considered, they were not of purpose to enter in among the Scots to assail them, but returned without doing of anything, for they saw well they might rather lose than win.

When the Scots saw the Englishmen retire and that they should have no battle, they went to their lodgings and made merry, and then made ready to depart from thence. And because that Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt, he desired of his master that he might return to Newcastle, or into some place where it pleased him, unto such time as he were whole of his hurts, promising, as soon as he were able to ride, to return into Scotland, either to Edinburgh or into any other place appointed. The Earl of Moray, under whom he was taken, agreed thereto, and delivered him a horse-litter, and sent him away. And by like covenant divers other knights and squires were suffered to go their way, and took

oath either to return or else to pay their ransom, such as they were appointed unto.

It was showed me by the information of the Scots, such as had been at this said battle that was between Newcastle and Otterburn in the year of our Lord 1388, the nineteenth day of August, how that there were taken prisoners of the English party a thousand and forty men, one and other, and slain in the field and in the chase eighteen hundred and forty, and sore hurt more than a thousand: and of the Scots there were a hundred slain, and taken in the chase more than two hundred; for as the Englishmen fled, when they saw any advantage they returned again and fought: by that means the Scots were taken and none otherwise. Every man may well consider that it was a well fought field, when there were so many slain and taken on both sides.

How the Scots departed and carried with them the Earl of Douglas dead, and buried him in the abbey of Melrose

After this battle was thus finished, and the Earl Douglas' dead body chested and laid in a car, and with him Sir Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning, then the Scots departed, and led with them Sir Henry Percy and more than forty knights of England, and took the way to the abbey of Melrose. At their departing they set fire to their lodgings, and rode all the day, and yet lay that night in the English ground: none denied them.

The next day they dislodged early in the morning, and so came that day to Melrose: it is an abbey of black monks on the border between both realms. There they rested, and buried the Earl James Douglas. The second

day after, his obsequy was done reverently, and on his body laid a tomb of stone, and his banner hanging over him.

When these Scots had been at Melrose abbey and done there all that they came thither for, then they departed each from other, and went into their own countries; and such as had prisoners, some led them away with them, and some were ransomed and suffered to return. Thus the Englishmen found the Scots right courteous and gentle in their deliverance and ransom, so that they were well content. This was showed me in the country of Béarn, in the Earl of Foix's house, by a knight named John de Châteauneuf, who was taken prisoner that day under the banner of the Earl of March and Dunbar. And it was showed me, and I believe it well, that the Scots had two hundred thousand franks for ransoming of prisoners; for sith the battle that was before Stirling in Scotland, where Sir Robert Bruce and other Scots chased the Englishmen three days, they never had a victory so profitable or so honourable for them as this was.

When tidings came to the other company of the Scots that were beside Carlisle, how their company had distressed the Englishmen beside Otterburn, they were greatly rejoiced, and yet displeased in their minds that they had not been there. Then they determined to dislodge and to draw into their own countries, seeing their other company were withdrawn. Thus they dislodged and entered into Scotland.

XVI

FROISSART AT THE COURT OF RICHARD II

How Sir John Froissart arrived in England,
and of the gift of a book that
he gave to the King

TRUE it was that I, Sir John Froissart, treasurer and canon of Chimay in the earldom of Hainault, in the diocese of Liége, had great desire to go and see the realm of England, when I saw that truce was taken between England and France, to endure four years by sea and by land. Many reasons moved me to make that voyage : one was because in my youth I had been brought up in the court of the noble King Edward the Third and of Queen Philippa his wife, and among their children and other barons of England, in whom I found all nobleness, honour, largess and courtesy. Therefore I desired to see the country, thinking thereby I should live much the longer ; for I had not been there for eight-and-twenty year before, and I thought, though I saw not those lords that I left alive there, yet at the least I should see their heirs, the which should do me much good to see, and also to justify the histories and matters that I had written of them.

And before I took my journey, I spake with Duke Aubert of Bavaria, Earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Lord of Friesland, and with my Lord William,

Earl of Ostrevant, and with my right honourable Lady Jane, Duchess of Brabant and of Luxembourg. Those said lords and others and the Duchess of Brabant counselled me to take this journey, and gave me letters of recommendation to the King of England.

And I had engrossed in a fair book well illumined all the matters of amours and moralities that in four-and-twenty years before I had made and compiled, which greatly quickened my desire to go into England to see King Richard, who was son to the noble Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, for I had not seen this King Richard sith he was christened in the cathedral church of Bordeaux. Also I had this said fair book well covered with velvet, garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the King at my first coming to his presence. I had such desire to go this voyage that the pain and travail grieved me nothing. Thus provided of horses and other necessities, I passed the sea at Calais and came to Dover the twelfth day of the month of July, the year of our Lord 1395.

When I came there, I found no man of my knowledge, it was so long sith I had been in England, and the houses were all changed, and young children were become men and women, who knew me not, nor I them. So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover, and the next day by nine of the clock I came to Canterbury, to St Thomas' shrine and to the tomb of the noble Prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly. There I heard mass, and made mine offering to the holy saint, and then dined at my lodging; and there I was informed how King Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabout.

Then I thought to abide the King there, and so I

did. And the next day the King came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies and damosels; and when I was among them, they seemed to me all new folks, I knew no person: the time was sore changed in eight-and-twenty year, so that I was at the first all abashed; for if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with King Edward or with the prince, I had been well comforted and would have gone to him; but I could see none such.

Then I demanded for a knight called Sir Richard Stury, whether he were alive or not; and it was showed me, yes, but he was at London. Then I thought to go to the Lord Thomas Percy, Great Seneschal of England, who was there with the King; so I acquainted me with him, and I found him right honourable and gracious, and he offered to present me and my letters to the King, whereof I was right joyful; for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince as the King of England was. He counselled me to follow the court, and said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the King should be at the fair castle of Leeds in Kent.

I ordered me after his counsel and rode before to Leeds, and thither came the King and all his company and there I found the Lord Edmund, Duke of York. Then I went to him and delivered my letters from the Earl of Hainault his cousin and from the Earl of Ostrevant.

The duke knew me well, because that in his youth he had seen me in the court of the noble King Edward his father and the Queen his mother; and he made me good cheer and said, "Sir John, hold you always near to us, and we shall show you love and courtesy; we are bound thereto for the love of time past, and for

love of my lady the old Queen my mother, in whose court ye were : we have good remembrance thereof."

Then I thanked him, as reason required. So I was brought into the King's presence by means of his uncle the Duke of York. Then I delivered my letters to the King, and he took and read them at leisure. Then he said to me that I was welcome, as he that had been and is of the English court. On that day I showed not the King the book that I had brought for him : he was so sore occupied with great affairs that I had then no leisure to present my book.

And when the King returned from Leeds to Eltham, I rode forth in the King's company ; and so it was that on a Sunday following, the Lord Thomas Percy and Sir Richard Stury showed my business to the King. Then the King desired to see my book that I had brought for him ; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready on his bed. When the King opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair illumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought. Then the King demanded me whereof it treated, and I showed him how it treated of matters of love ; whereof the King was glad, and looked in it, and read it in many places, for he could speak and read French very well ; then he gave it to a knight of his chamber, to bear it into his secret chamber.

And the same Sunday I fell in acquaintance with a squire of England called Henry Christead, an honest man and a wise, who could well speak French. He companied with me because he saw the King and other lords made me good cheer, and also he had seen the book that I gave to the King ; also Sir Richard Stury

had showed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth.

Of the conquest that King Richard made in Ireland, and how he brought into his obeisance four kings of that country

“Sir John,” quoth he, “have ye not found in the King’s court sith ye came hither no man that hath told you of the voyage that the King made but late into Ireland, and in what manner the four kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the King of England?”

And I answered, “No.”

“Then shall I show you,” quoth the squire, “to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country and have leisure thereto.” I was rejoiced at his words, and thanked him; then he began thus and said:—

“Sir John, it is not in the memory of man that ever any king of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men of arms nor archers. The King was a nine months in the marches of Ireland at great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses; and the merchants, cities and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the King return home again with honour. The number that he had thither, gentlemen and archers, were four thousand knights and thirty thousand archers, well paid weekly, so that every man was well pleased. But I show you, because ye should know the truth, Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed

strongly and widely with high forests and great waters and marshes and places uninhabitable : it is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor shall ye find town or person to speak withal, for the men draw to the woods, and dwell in caves and small cottages, under trees and among bushes and hedges like wild savage beasts. And when they know that any man maketh war against them and is entered into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend them so that no man can enter into them ; and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country, and are light people : for though a man of arms be never so well horsed, and run as fast as he can, yet the Irishmen will run afoot as fast as he and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him, and draw him from his horse ; for they are strong men in the arms, and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges after the manner of dart-heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy ; and they repute not a man dead till they have cut his throat and taken out his heart, which they carry away with them. Some say, such as know their nature, that they do eat it, and have great delight therein. They take no man to ransom ; and when they see at any encounter that they be overmatched, then they will depart asunder and go and hide themselves in bushes, woods, hedges and caves, so that no man shall find them.

“ Also Sir William Windsor, who hath most made war in those parts of any Englishman, could never learn the manner of the country nor know their conditions. They be hardy people, and of rude wit ; they set nothing by jollity nor fresh apparel, nor by nobleness ; for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kings, whereof

they have plenty, yet they will take no knowledge of gentleness, but will continue in their rudeness, according as they are brought up.

“ Truth it is that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country are come to the obeisance of the King of England by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint. The Earl of Ormond, whose land borders upon them, hath taken great pains and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the King, and submitted them to him to be under the obeisance of the crown of England: wherefore the King and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed, and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for King Edward of good memory did never so much upon them as King Richard did in this voyage. The honour is great, but the profit is but little; for though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages.

“ I shall show you somewhat of their rudeness: I know it well, for when they were at Dublin I had the governance of them about a month by the King's commandment and his council, to the intent that I should teach them the usages of England, and because I could speak their language as well as French or English, for in my youth I was brought up among them.

“ I was with the Earl of Ormond, father to the earl that now is, who loved me right well, because I could ride and handle a horse meetly well. And it fortun'd one time that the said earl, who then was my master, was sent with three hundred spears and a thousand archers into the marches of Ireland to make war with the Irishmen; for always the Englishmen have had war with them, to subdue and put them under.

“ And on a day, as the said earl went against them,

I rode on a goodly horse of his, light and swift ; and the same day the Irishmen were laid in a bushment, and when we came near them, they opened their bushment. Then the English archers began to shoot so eagerly that the Irishmen could not suffer it, for they are but simply armed, therefore they turned and went back. Then the earl my master followed in the chase, and I that was well horsed followed him as near as I could. And it fortunéd so that my horse was afraid, and took his bridle in his teeth and ran away with me, and whether I would or not, he bare me so far forth among the Irishmen that one of them by lightness of running leapt up behind me and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt, but so led me out of the way, and so rode still behind me the space of two hours, and at the last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far.

“ Then, as he showed, he had great joy of me, and led me into a town and a strong house among the woods, waters and mires. The town was called Elphin, and the gentleman that took me was called Brien Costeret. He was a goodly man, and as it hath been showed me, he is as yet alive : howbeit he is very aged. This Brien Costeret kept me seven year with him, and gave me his daughter in marriage, of whom I had two daughters. I shall show you how I was delivered.

“ It happened at the seven years' end one of their kings, named Arthur MacMurrough, King of Leinster, made an army against Duke Lionel of Clarence, son to King Edward of England, and against Sir William Windsor ; and not far from the city of Leinster the Englishmen and Irishmen met together, and many

were slain and taken on both sides ; but the Englishmen obtained the victory, and the Irishmen fled ; and the King Arthur saved himself, but Brien Costeret, my wife's father, was taken prisoner under the Duke of Clarence's banner. He was taken on the same courser that he took me on ; the horse was well known among the Earl of Ormond's folks ; and then he showed how I was alive and was at his manor of Elphin, and how I had wedded his daughter, whereof the Duke of Clarence, Sir William Windsor and the Englishmen were right glad.

“ Then it was showed him that if he would be set free, he should deliver me into the Englishmen's hands, and my wife and children. With great pain he made that bargain, for he loved me well, and my wife his daughter and our children ; when he saw he could make his terms none otherwise, he accorded thereto, but he retained mine eldest daughter still with him. So I and my wife and our second daughter returned into England, and I went and dwelt beside Bristol on the river of Severn. My two daughters are married, and she in Ireland hath three sons and two daughters, and she that I brought with me hath four sons and two daughters.

“ And because the language of Irish is as ready to me as the English tongue, for I have always continued with my wife and taught my children the same speech, therefore the King my sovereign lord and his council commanded me to give attendance on these four kings, and to govern and bring them to reason and to the usage and customs of England, seeing they had yielded them to be under his obeisance and of the crown of England, and they were sworn to hold it for ever. And yet I assure you, for all that I did in my power to teach

them, yet they be right rude and of gross understanding. Much pain I had to make them to speak anything in fair manner ; somewhat I altered them, but not much ; for in many cases they turned again to their natural rudeness. The King my sovereign lord's intent was that in manner, countenance and apparel they should follow the manner of England, for the King thought to make them all four knights.

“ They had a fair house to lodge in in Dublin, and I was charged to abide with them and not to depart. And so two or three days I suffered them to do as they list, and said nothing to them, but let them follow their own appetites : they would sit at the table and make countenance neither good nor fair ; then I thought I should cause them to change that manner. They would cause their minstrels, their servants and varlets to sit with them, and to eat in their own dish and to drink of their cups ; and they showed me that the usage of their country was good, for they said that all things, except their beds, they had in common. So the fourth day I ordered other tables to be covered in the hall, after the usage of England, and I made these four kings to sit at the high table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them, whereof by seeming they were displeased, and beheld each other and would not eat, and said how I would take from them their good usage wherein they had been nourished. Then I answered them, smiling to appease them, that it was not honourable for their estate to do as they did before, and that they must leave it and use the custom of England, and that it was the King's pleasure they should so do, and how I was charged so to order them. When they heard that, they suffered it, because they had put themselves under

the obeisance of the King of England, and they persevered in the same as long as I was with them.

“ Yet they had one usage, which I knew well was the custom in their country, and that was they did wear no breeches : I caused breeches of linen cloth to be made for them. While I was with them, I caused them to leave many rude things, as well in clothing as in other matters. Much ado I had at the first to cause them to wear gowns of silk furred with minever and gray ; for before, these kings thought themselves well apparelled when they had on a mantle. They rode always without saddles and stirrups, and with great pain I made them to ride after our usage.

“ And on a time I demanded them of their belief ; wherewith they were not well pleased, and said how they believed on God and on the Trinity, as well as we. Then I demanded on what pope was their affection. They answered me, ‘ On him of Rome.’

“ Then I demanded if they would not gladly receive the order of knighthood, and that the King of England should make them knights, according to the usage of France and England and other countries. They answered how they were knights already and that sufficed for them. I asked where they were made knights, and how, and when. They answered that at the age of seven year they were made knights in Ireland, and that a king maketh his son a knight, and if the son have no father alive, then the next of his blood may make him knight ; and then this young knight shall begin to joust with small spears, such as he may bear with ease, and run against a shield set on a stake in the field, and the more spears that he breaketh the more he shall be honoured. I knew their manner well enough, though I did demand it ; but then I said that the

knighthood that they had taken in their youth sufficed not to the King of England, but I said he should give them knighthood after another manner. They demanded how. I answered that it should be in the holy church, which was the worthiest place. Then they inclined somewhat to my words.

“ Within two days after, the Earl of Ormond came to them, who could right well speak the language, for some of his lands lay in those parts; he was sent to them by the King and his council. They all honoured him, and he them. Then he fell in sweet communication with them, and he demanded of them how they liked me.

“ They answered and said, ‘ Well, for he hath well showed us the usage of this country, wherefore we ought to thank him, and so we do.’

“ This answer pleased well the Earl of Ormond. Then he entered little by little to speak of the order of chivalry which the King would they should receive: he showed it them from point to point, how they should behave themselves, and what pertained to knighthood.

“ The earl’s words pleased much these four kings, whose names were these: first, the great O’Neal, king of Meath; the second, Brien of Thomond, king of Thomond; the third, Arthur MacMorrough, king of Leinster; the fourth, O’Connor, king of Connaught and Erpe. They were made knights by King Richard of England, in the cathedral church of Dublin, on our Lady day in March. These four watched all the night before in the church, and the next day at high mass time with great solemnity they were made knights. They sat that day at the table with King Richard, and were regarded of many folks, because their behaving was strange to the manner of England and other countries, and ever naturally men desire to see novelties.”

Then I, Sir John Froissart, said, "Henry, I believe you well, and I would, though it had cost me largely, that I had been there. But one thing I desire of you to know, how these four kings of Ireland came so soon to the King of England's obeisance, when King Edward, the King's grandfather, who was so valiant a prince and so redoubted over all, could never subdue them nor put them under, and yet he had always war with them. And in that they are subdued now, ye say it was by treaty and by the grace of God: indeed the grace of God is good; who can so have it, it is worth much; but it is seen nowadays that earthly princes get little without it be by puissance. I desire to know this, for when I shall come into Hainault, I shall be examined of this and many other things, both by Duke Aubert of Bavaria, Earl of Hainault, of Holland and of Zealand, and also by his son William of Bavaria."

Then answered Henry Christead and said, "Sir John, to show you the very truth I cannot, but many a one saith, and it is to be supposed, that the great puissance that the King had with him when he tarried there in their country nine months, and every man well paid, abashed the Irishmen; also the sea was closed from them on all parts, whereby their victuals and merchandises might not enter into their countries. King Edward of noble memory in his time had to answer many wars, what in France, Brittany, Gascony and Scotland, so that his people were divided in divers places and sore occupied, wherefore he could send no great number into Ireland. But when the Irishmen saw the great number of men of war that King Richard had in Ireland this last journey, they bethought themselves well and came to obeisance.

"And indeed of old time there was a king in England

named Edward, who is a saint and canonised, and honoured through all this realm : in his time he subdued the Danes and discomfited them by battle on the sea three times ; and this Saint Edward, King of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, the Irishmen loved and feared much more than any other king of England that had been before ; and therefore our sovereign lord, King Richard, this year past, when he was in Ireland, in all his armouries and devices he left the bearing of the arms of England, the leopards and fleurs-de-lys quarterly, and bare the arms of this Saint Edward ; that is, a cross potent gold, with four white martinets on a field gules ; whereof it was said the Irishmen were well pleased, and the sooner inclined to him. For of truth the predecessors of these four kings obeyed with faith and homage the said King Edward, and they repute King Richard a good man and of good conscience, and so in like manner they have done to him faith and homage as they ought to do.

“ Thus I have showed you the manner how the King our sovereign lord hath this year accomplished his voyage in Ireland. Put it in your memorial, to the intent that when ye shall return into your own country, ye may write it in your chronicle with many other histories that pertain to the same matter.”

Then I thanked him, and said it should be done. So I took leave of him.

Then I met with March the herald, and I demanded of him what arms this Henry Christead bare, and I showed the herald how this Sir Henry had showed me the manner of the King's journey in Ireland, and the state of the four kings, who had been, as he said, in his governing more than fifteen days at Dublin.

The herald answered me and said, “ Sir, he beareth

in his arms silver, a chevron gules with three besants gules." All these things I did put in writing, because I would not forget them.

Thus I tarried in the King of England's court as long as it pleased me, not always in one place, for the King oftentimes removed to Eltham, to Leeds, to Kingston, to Sheen, to Chertsey or to Windsor, about the marches of London.

XVII

THE FALL OF RICHARD II AND THE RISE OF HENRY IV

How the Earl Marshal in England challenged the Earl of Derby in the presence of the King and his Council

KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND was of such a nature that if he loved a man he would make him so great and so near him that it was marvel to consider, and no man durst speak to the contrary ; also he would lightly believe sooner than any other king before him. The Earl Marshal, who was as great in the King's favour as might be ; to the intent to please the King and to flatter him, he made the King believe that he was a true, faithful, and a secret servant, and that he could not endure to hear any word spoken against the King, and told the King many things to have his love. Howbeit oftentimes a man thinketh to be advanced and is pulled back ; and so it fortuneth of the Earl Marshal : I shall show you how.

On a day the Earl of Derby, son to the Duke of Lancaster, and the Earl Marshal communed together of divers matters ; among others they spake of the state of the King and of his council, so that at the last the Earl of Derby spake certain words which he thought for the best, weening that they should never have been

called to rehearsal, which words were neither villainous nor outrageous; for he said thus: "St Mary! fair cousin, what thinketh the King our cousin to do? Will he drive out of England all the noble men? Within a while there shall be none left. It seemeth clearly he willeth not the augmentation of his realm."

The Earl Marshal gave none answer, but dissembled and thought to show this matter to the King, when noblemen should be present.

And on a day, to please the King, he said, "Right dear sir, I am of your lineage, and am your liege man and Marshal of England, wherefore, sir, I am bound to you by mine allegiance and oath sworn, my hands in yours, that I should be in no place hearing anything contrary to your majesty royal and should keep it secret: I ought to be reputed as a false traitor, which I will not be, for I will truly acquit me against you and all the world."

The King looked on him, and demanded and said, "Why say you these words? We will know it."

"My right redoubted sovereign lord," quoth the Earl Marshal, "I say it because I cannot suffer anything that should be prejudicial or against your Grace. Sir, cause the Earl of Derby to come before you, and then I shall show you more."

Then the Earl of Derby was sent for, and the King commanded the Earl Marshal to stand up, for he was on his knee while he spake to the King. And when the Earl of Derby, who thought none evil, was before the King, then the Earl Marshal said, "Sir, Earl of Derby, I say to you, ye have thought evil and spoken otherwise than ye ought to do against your natural lord the King of England, when ye said that he was not worthy to hold land or realm, saying without law or justice and

without counsel of any of his noblemen he disturbeth his realm, and without title or good reason putteth out of his realm and destroyeth them who ought to aid and sustain him: wherefore here I cast my gage, and will prove with my body against yours that ye are an evil false traitor."

The Earl of Derby was sore abashed with those words, and stepped back a little and stood still a season without demanding of his father or of any other what answer he should make. When he had studied a little, he stepped forth with his cap in his hand, and came before the King and the Earl Marshal, and said, "Earl Marshal, I say thou art an evil and a false traitor, and that I shall prove, my body against thine; and in that quarrel here is my gage."

The Earl Marshal, when he heard how he was challenged, showed how he desired the battle. With that the Earl of Derby answered and said, "I set your words at the King's pleasure and other lords' that be here, and I turn your words to a mock, and mine to be true." Then each of these earls drew to their company and lineage, so that the time of taking of wine and spices was let pass, for the King showed himself to be right sore displeased, and so entered into his chamber.

The King, all the season that these two lords prepared for their battle, had many imaginations whether he should suffer them to fight or not. Then on a day certain of the King's council came to the King, and demanded what was his intention that these two lords should do.

"Sirs," quoth he, "I pray you show me why ye make this demand."

"Sir," quoth they, "we are bound to counsel you: and, sir, we oftentimes hear words that ye cannot hear,

for ye be in your chamber and we abroad in the country or in London, where many things be spoken which greatly toucheth you and us also. Sir, it were time to provide remedy, and so ye must do. The rumour runneth that ye are cause of this enterprise and have set the Earl Marshal to fight with the Earl of Derby: the Londoners and divers other noblemen and prelates of the realm say how ye take the right way to destroy your lineage and the realm of England: which thing they say they will not suffer; and if the Londoners rise against you with such noblemen as will take their part, ye shall be of no puissance to resist them. And three parts of the people of England say that when ye heard the words first between these two earls, ye should have broken the quarrel and have said, ‘Sirs, ye are both my cousins and liege men, therefore I command you to keep the peace from henceforth,’ and should have taken the Earl of Derby by the hand and have led him into your chamber and have showed him some sign of love; and because ye did not this, the bruit runneth that ye bear favour to the Earl Marshal’s party, and are against the Earl of Derby. Sir, consider well these words that we show you, for they be true. Sir, ye had never more need of good counsel than ye have now.”

When the King heard these words, he changed countenance, the words were so boldly spoken; therewith the King turned and leaned out at a window and studied a certain space, and then he turned again and said, “Sirs, I have well heard you, and if I should refuse your counsel, I were greatly to blame: wherefore, sirs, consider what is best for me to do.”

“Sir,” quoth one of them that spake for all, “the matter that we have spoken of is right perilous; ye must dissemble, if ye will have your honour saved, and

make peace. Sir, we think ye may give this judgment : that within fifteen days after, the Earl Marshal quit the realm, without any trust ever to return again ; and the Earl of Derby in likewise to quit the realm and to be banished for ten year ; and when he shall depart, to please the people withal, release four year of the ten, and so let him be banished for six year without pardon. This is the counsel, sir, that we will give you ; for, sir, in no wise let them be armed one against another, for the inconveniences that may fall thereby."

The King studied a little, and said, "Sirs, ye counsel me truly, and I shall follow your counsel."

How King Richard gave sentence, whereby he banished out of England the Earl of Derby for ten year and the Earl Marshal for ever

Anon after that this counsel was given to the King, he assembled great number of prelates and great lords of England, and sent for the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal. Then the King said, "I ordain and command that the Earl Marshal, because he hath brought this realm into this trouble by reason of his words, wherein he cannot make proof, that he quit this realm of England and go dwell in what place he list out thereof, and that he be banished in such wise that he never return again. And also I ordain that the Earl of Derby our cousin, because he hath displeased us, and that he is the chief cause of the banishment of the Earl Marshal, within fifteen days he quit the realm of England, and be banished for ten year without returning, except we recall him again, the which shall always lie in our pleasure."

This sentence greatly contented the lords that were present, and they said, "The Earl of Derby may well enough go and sport him out of the realm for two or three year; he is young enough. Though he hath been sore travelled in his days in far countries, as into Prussia, and to the Holy Sepulchre, to Cairo, and to St Katherine's, so he may do yet, go some other voyages to pass the time, if he list. He knoweth well enough whither to go: he hath two sisters, one Queen of Spain, the other Queen of Portugal; he may well pass the time with them: or else he may go into Hainault to his brother and cousin the Earl of Ostrevant, who will receive him with great joy and retain him, and in Hainault he may daily hear news out of England and from his children. He cannot go amiss, go where he will; and the King may recall him again by good means when it shall please him, for he is one of the fairest flowers in his garland: he shall not be long absent if the King purpose to have the love of his people. But the Earl Marshal is in a far worse case, for he is banished without hope for ever to return again: and to say the truth, he hath well deserved it, for all this mischief is come by him and by his words." Thus divers knights and squires of England talked together one with another the same day that the King gave the said judgment.

When the day of his departure approached, the Earl of Derby came to Eltham to the King, and at the earl's departing the King humbled himself greatly and said, "As God help me, it right greatly displeaseth me the words that have been between you and the Earl Marshal; but the sentence that I have given is for the best, and for to appease thereby the people, who greatly murmured on this matter; wherefore, cousin, yet to ease you some-

what of your pain, I release my judgment from ten year to six year."

The earl answered and said, "Sir, I thank your Grace, and when it shall please you ye shall do me more grace."

Then the earl departed and came to London, and being at London he was counselled by his father, the Duke of Lancaster, for to go straight to the French king and to his cousins in France; and according to his father's counsel so he did.

When the earl departed from London there were in the streets more than forty thousand men weeping and crying after him, that it was pity to hear; and some said, "O gentle Earl of Derby, this realm shall never be in joy till ye return again; but the day of return is very long, for envy, falsehood and treason hath put you out of this realm, where ye ought to abide rather than many others, for ye are of such lineage, and of so noble blood, that none ought to be compared to you. Then, gentle earl, why will ye leave us? Ye never did nor thought evil." Thus men and women piteously spake; he was not conveyed out of the city with instruments, but with lamentable weepings. The Mayor of London and a great number of the chief burgesses accompanied him out of the city; some rode to Dartford, and some to Dover and saw him take shipping, and then they returned.

Thus the Earl of Derby departed from Dover and passed the sea to Calais, and thence he rode to Paris, where the French king was, who received the earl nobly.

How the Duke of Lancaster died ; and how
the Earl of Derby arrived in England,
and how he was received of
the Londoners

Duke John of Lancaster lived in great displeasure, what because the King had banished his son out of the realm for so little a cause, and also because of the evil governing of the realm by his nephew King Richard, for he saw well that if the King long persevered and were suffered to continue, the realm was likely to be utterly lost ; with these imaginations and other, the duke fell sick about the feast of Christmas, the year of our Lord 1398, and died ; whose death was greatly sorrowed of all his friends and lovers.

Tidings of the Duke of Lancaster's death came into France, and King Richard of England in manner of joy wrote thereof to the French king, and not to his cousin the Earl of Derby ; howbeit the earl knew it as soon as the French king, or sooner, by such men as he had in England. Then the earl apparelled him and all his men in black, and caused his father's obsequy to be done right honourably, at the which was the French king, and his brother the Duke of Orleans, and all the King's uncles, with a great number of prelates and great lords of France ; for the Earl of Derby was well beloved with every man, and many were right sorry of his trouble, for he was a pleasant knight and an honest person, courteous and sweet, and meek to every man ; and every man that saw him said how the King of England was not well counselled that he repealed him not home again.

And truly to say truth, if the King of England had wisely regarded the matter and had been well counselled,

the matter had not turned against him as it did. For the Earl of Derby after the death of his father was right inheritor to be Duke of Lancaster, and to have been the second person of the realm, by whom all the business of the realm should chiefly have passed ; but the King straightway sent his officers into all the Duke of Lancaster's lands and took the profits thereof to himself, and said that as long as the Earl of Derby stood as a banished man, he nor none of his should receive any revenues of any lands within the realm of England.

And moreover, whereof the King was greatly blamed of such as loved the earl and his children, the King gave away lands pertaining to the heritage of the duchy of Lancaster to some of his servants, such as asked them : for the which cause many knights and others in England spake and said, " The King showeth well that he oweth no good will to his cousin the Earl of Derby sith he will not repeal him home again, and hath taken to himself his heritage and causeth his officers to meddle with the duke's lands as though they were his own. This is too much done against all right and reason ; this cannot long endure unamended." Thus the prelates, noblemen and commons in England communed and murmured.

Then, generally, men in England began to murmur and to rise one against another, and ministering of justice was clean stopped up in all courts of England ; there rose in the realm companies in divers routes, keeping the fields and highways, so that merchants durst not ride abroad to exercise their merchandise for fear of robbing ; and no man knew to whom to complain to do them right, reason and justice : which things were right prejudicial and displeasing to the good people of England, for it was contrary to their usage. For all people, labourers and merchants in England were wont

to live in rest and peace, and now it was contrary; for when merchants rode from town to town with their merchandise and had either gold or silver in their purses, it was taken from them, and from other men and labourers out of their houses. These companies would take wheat, oats, beeves, muttons, porks; and the poor men durst speak no word.

These evil deeds daily multiplied so that great complaints and lamentations were made thereof throughout the realm, and the good people said, "Times are changed for us from good to evil ever sith the death of good King Edward the Third, in whose days justice was well kept and ministered: in his days there was no man so hardy in England to take a hen or a chicken or a sheep without he had paid truly for it; and nowadays all that we have is taken from us, and yet we dare not speak. These things cannot long endure but that England is likely to be lost without recovery. We have a king now that will do nothing: he attendeth but to idleness and to accomplish his pleasure. It were time to provide for remedy, and the best remedy, we think, were to send for the Earl of Derby, and when he is come, let him have the governance of the realm, that he may reform all evil and bring it into good state. Let them be punished that have deserved; and let Richard of Bordeaux be taken and set in the Tower of London, and all his faults put in writing in articles, of the which there will be found a great number; and by the time they be examined, it shall be seen clearly that he is not worthy to bear a crown nor to keep a realm; for his own deeds shall confound him."

Thus the Londoners communed together, and not only they, but also others in divers places of the realm; and they concluded to send into France for the Earl

of Derby, and to make him King and his heirs for ever. Then it was thought that he that should go in that message must be a wise man and of good credence; for they said that for any simple words of a mean messenger, or for any letters, the Earl of Derby would give no faith thereto, but rather think it should be to betray him.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of honour and prudence, was desired to do that message, who for the common profit of the realm accorded to go, and ordained for his departure so wisely that none knew thereof but such as ought to know it. And so he took a ship at London, and passed without any peril and came to Sluys in Flanders, and from thence to Ghent, and so to Valenciennes. He rode not like a bishop, but like a monk pilgrim, and discovered to no man what he was nor what he intended to do, but took a man to be his guide to Paris, saying how he would go a pilgrimage to St Maur.

He did so much that he came thither where the Earl of Derby was; and when he saw his time, he took apart the Earl of Derby alone into a chamber and closed the door. Then the bishop showed the earl the debility of the realm of England and the desolation thereof, and how justice had no place to reign for default of a good king; and how certain men had devised a remedy, and for that cause he was sent thither to desire him to return into England, and they would make him king, because that Richard of Bordeaux had done, and consented to be done, so many evil deeds that all the people sorrowed it, and were ready to rise against him.

When the earl had heard the bishop's words at length, he was not hasty in giving of answer, but called to him his council, such as he trusted best, and caused the

bishop to show them all the matter ; then the earl demanded counsel, what was best for him to do. They all answered with one voice, " Sir, God hath taken pity of you ; howsoever ye do, refuse not this bargain, for ye shall never have a better. And surely whosoever will enquire of your lineage, ye are of the right stock and generation of St Edward, sometime King of England. Sir, thank the Londoners, your good friends, who will help to deliver you out of danger, and have pity on your children, and on the desolation of the realm of England."

When the earl heard his counsellors so earnestly counsel him, his spirits rose and he said, " Sirs, I will do as ye will have me."

Then as secretly as they could, they ordained for their departure. And when he was ready the earl departed and rode certain days till he came to Nantes, and made his provision at Vannes, and when the wind served, took the sea ; and within two days and two nights they arrived at Plymouth in England.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote letters signed with his hand to London, signifying the coming of the Earl of Derby, and sent them by a sufficient man in post, who took fresh horses by the way and came to London, to the Mayor's lodging, the same day at night. The Mayor rejoiced greatly at that news, and straightway sent his servants from house to house and assembled together some of the most notable men of the city. Then they did choose certain men to go abroad to publish the earl's coming to lords, knights and squires, such as were of their party.

The next day the Earl of Derby rode towards London ; and a great number of men, women and children of London and the clergy came to meet with him, and when they came into his sight they cried, " Welcome, noble

Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster ! God send you joy, wealth and prosperity ! Sith ye went out of England the realm hath been in no prosperity ; now we trust ye shall bring us into a reasonable estate."

The Mayor rode cheek and cheek by him, which was great pleasure for the people to see ; and the Mayor sometime said to the earl, " Sir, behold how the people rejoice of your coming."

" That is true," quoth the earl ; and always as he rode, he inclined his head to the people on every side. Thus the earl was brought to his lodging, and the people of London were so joyful of his coming that there was no more working in London that day than an it had been Easter day.

How King Richard yielded himself to the Earl of Derby, and resigned the crown and the realm

To come to a conclusion of this business : the people took counsel to ride against King Richard, and the Earl of Derby took on him to be King, and so to endure for ever, he and his heirs.

The Earl of Derby and the Londoners had their spies going and coming, who reported to them all the state of the King ; also the earl knew by such knights and squires as daily came from the King's part to the earl, that the King was gone to the castle of Flint, a twelve mile from Bristol, and had no company with him but such as were of his own household, and seemed that he would no war, but to scape that danger by treaty.

Then the earl departed from London with a great company ; and within two mile of the castle of Flint he left the rest of his company and rode with two hundred

men to the castle, where the King was among his men right sore abashed. The earl came riding to the castle gate, which was fast closed, as the case required. The earl knocked at the gate; the porters demanded who was there.

The earl answered, "I am Henry of Lancaster; I come to the King to demand mine heritage of the duchy of Lancaster: show the King this from me."

"Sir," quoth they within, "we shall do it."

Then these news were showed to the King. The King then regarded such as were about him and demanded what was best to do.

They said, "Sir, in this request is none evil; ye may let him come in to you with twelve persons in his company, and hear what he will say."

The King agreed to those words; so the earl entered into the castle with twelve persons, and then the gate closed again, and the rest of his company tarried without.

Now consider what danger the Earl of Derby was in: for the King then might have slain him and such as were with him, as easily as a bird in a cage. But he feared not the matter, but boldly went to the King, who changed colours when he saw the earl.

Then the earl spake aloud, without making of any great honour or reverence, and said, "Sir, are ye fasting?"

The King answered and said, "Yea, why ask you?"

"It is time," quoth the earl, "that ye had dined, for ye have a great journey to ride."

"Why, whither should I ride?" quoth the King.

"Ye must ride to London," quoth the earl; "wherefore I counsel you eat and drink, that ye may ride with the more mirth."

Then the King, who was sore troubled in his mind and

in a manner afraid of those words, said, "I am not hungry : I have no lust to eat."

Then such as were by, who were then glad to flatter the Earl of Derby, for they saw well the matter was like to go diversely, said to the King, "Sir, believe your cousin of Lancaster, for he will nothing but good."

Then the King said, "Well, I am content ; cover the tables."

Then the King washed and sat down, and was served. The earl was demanded if he would sit down ; he said no, for he was not fasting.

In the mean season while the King sat at dinner, who did eat but little, his heart was so full that he had no lust to eat, all the country about the castle was full of men of war ; they within the castle might see them out of the windows, and the King, when he rose from the table, might see them himself. Then he demanded of his cousin what men they were that appeared so many in the fields. The earl answered and said, "The most part of them be Londoners."

'What would they have ?' quoth the King.

"They will have you," quoth the earl, "and bring you to London and put you into the Tower. There is none other remedy ; ye can scape none otherwise."

"No ?" quoth the King ; and he was sore afraid of those words, for he knew well the Londoners loved him not, and said, "Cousin, can you not provide for my surety ? I will not gladly put me into their hands, for I know well they hate me, and have done so long, though I be their King."

Then the earl said, "Sir, I see none other remedy but to yield yourself as my prisoner ; and when they know that ye be my prisoner, they will do you no hurt ;

but ye must ride to London with me, and be as my prisoner in the Tower of London."

. The King, who saw himself in a hard case, all his spirits sore abashed, as he that feared greatly that the Londoners would slay him, yielded himself prisoner to the Earl of Derby, and promised to do all that he would have him to do. In like wise all other knights, squires and officers yielded to the earl, and the earl then received them as his prisoners.

While everything was a-preparing, the King and the earl communed together in the court, and were well regarded by the Londoners. And as it was informed me, King Richard had a greyhound called Math, who always waited upon the King and would know no man else; for whensoever the King did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose, and he would straight run to the King and fawn upon him, and leap with his forefeet upon the King's shoulders. And as the King and the earl talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the King, left the King and came to the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the King. The duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the King what the greyhound would do.

"Cousin," quoth the King, "it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me."

"Sir, how know you that?" quoth the duke.

"I know it well," quoth the King; "the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as King of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally; therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me."

The duke understood well those words and cherished

the greyhound, who would never after follow King Richard, but followed the Duke of Lancaster.

So every man departed from the castle of Flint, and Duke Henry of Lancaster, who was no more called Earl of Derby, rode by the King, and oftentimes they talked together ; and men of war rode before and behind in great number. The Duke of Lancaster led King Richard by no castles nor good towns, for fear of stirring of the people, but took the way to Windsor and Staines and so came to dinner to Chertsey ; the King had desired the duke that he should not bring him London way nor through the city, and therefore they took that way ; and from thence in the night time they conveyed the King to the Tower of London.

When the Duke of Lancaster had set his cousin King Richard in the Tower of London, then the duke and his council took advice and did put all his deeds in articles to the number of eight-and-twenty. Then the articles were read openly, and it was showed how the King himself denied none of them, but confessed that he did them by the counsel of four knights of his chamber, and how by their counsel he had put to death his uncle the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel and others. Then these four knights were judged to die ; and this judgment given, they were delivered to execution, and their heads stricken off and set upon London bridge.

King Richard, knowing himself taken and in the danger of the Londoners, was in great sorrow in his heart and cursed the hour that ever he was born. Such as were about him had great pity and comforted him as well as they might.

One of his knights said, " Sir, it behoveth you to take comfort. We see well, and so do you, that this world is nothing ; the fortunes thereof are marvellous

and sometime turn as well upon kings and princes as upon poor men. Sir, we counsel you, to the intent to save your life and ours, that when your cousin of Lancaster cometh to you, then with sweet and treatable words say to him how that ye will resign to him the crown of England and all the right that ye have in the realm clearly and purely into his hands: thereby ye shall greatly appease him and the Londoners also. And desire him affectionately to suffer you to live, and us also with you, or every man apart, as it shall please him, or else to banish us out of the realm for ever; for he that loseth his life, loseth all."

King Richard heard those words well, and fixed them surely in his heart, and said he would do as they counselled him, as he that saw himself in great danger. And then he said to them that kept him, how he would gladly speak with his cousin of Lancaster.

It was showed the Duke of Lancaster how Richard of Bordeaux desired to speak with him. The duke in an evening took a barge and went to the Tower by water, and went to the King, who received him courteously and humbled himself greatly, and said, "Cousin of Lancaster, I regard and consider mine estate, which is now but small, I thank God thereof; as any more to reign or to govern people, or to bear a crown, I have no thought; and as God help me, I would I were dead by a natural death. Cousin, all things considered, I know well I have greatly trespassed against you and against other noblemen of my blood; by divers things I perceive I shall never have pardon nor come to peace; wherefore with mine own free and liberal will I will resign to you the heritage of the crown of England, and I require you take the gift thereof with the resignation."

When the duke heard that, he said, "Sir, it is con-

venient that part of the three estates of the realm be called to these words, and I have sent already for some noblemen, prelates and counsellors of the good towns of England, and I trust they will be here within these three days, sufficient of them for you to make a due resignation before them, and by this means ye shall greatly appease many men within the realm. As for me, I have taken on me to defend your life as long as I may for pity, and I shall pray the Londoners and the heritors of them that ye have slain and banished, to do the same."

"Cousin, I thank you," quoth the King; "I trust more in you than in any other."

"It is but right that ye so should do, for if I had not been, ye had been taken by the people and slain by reason of your evil works."

King Richard heard well all the duke's words and wist not what to say against it, for he saw well that force nor arguments could not avail him, but rather meekness and humility; wherefore he humbled him and prayed the duke to save his life. And when the Duke of Lancaster had been at the Tower two hours with King Richard, and had showed him part of his faults, then he returned.

And on a day the Duke of Lancaster, accompanied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons and knights, and of the most notable men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted. Then King Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of state, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head.

Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and said aloud, "I have been King of England, Duke of Aquitaine and Lord of Ireland about two-and-

twenty years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown and heritage I clearly resign here to my cousin Henry of Lancaster ; and I desire him here in this open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre ” ; and so delivered it to the duke, who took it.

Then King Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands, and set it before him, and said, “ Fair cousin, Henry Duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned King of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending.” The Duke of Lancaster took it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took it out of the duke’s hands.

This resignation thus done, the Duke of Lancaster called a notary and demanded to have letters and witness of all the prelates and lords there present. Then Richard of Bordeaux returned again into the chamber from whence he came. Then the Duke of Lancaster and all other leapt on their horses ; and the crown and sceptre were put in a coffer and conveyed to the abbey of Westminster, and there kept in the treasury.

Of the coronation of King Henry, Duke of Lancaster, by the consent of the realm and the manner of the feast

In the year of our Lord 1399, the last day of September, on a Tuesday, began a parliament at Westminster, holden by Henry Duke of Lancaster, at which time there were assembled prelates and clergy of the realm of England a great number, and also dukes, earls and barons, and of every town a certain number. Thus the people assembled at Westminster, and there the Duke of Lancaster challenged the realm of England and

desired to be King by three reasons : first by conquest, secondly because he was heir, and thirdly because Richard of Bordeaux had resigned the realm into his hands by his free will in the presence of certain dukes, earls, prelates and barons in the hall within the Tower of London. These three causes showed, the Duke of Lancaster required all the people there present, as well one as other, to show their minds and intents in that behalf. Then all the people with one voice said that their will was to have him king, and how they would have none other but him.

Then the duke again said to the people, "Sirs, is this your mind?" And they all with one voice said, "Yea, yea!"

And then the duke sat down in the throne royal, which seat was raised up in the hall, and covered with a cloth of state, so that every man might well see him sit. And then the people lifted up their hands a-high, promising him their faith and allegiance.

Then the parliament concluded, and the day was taken for his coronation on St Edward's day, the Monday the thirteenth day of October; at which time, the Saturday before his coronation, he departed from Westminster and rode to the Tower of London with a great number.

And that night all such squires as should be made knights the next day, watched, who were to the number of six-and-forty; every squire had his own bairn by himself; and the next day the Duke of Lancaster made them all knights at the mass time. Then had they long coats with strait sleeves, furred with minever like prelates', with white laces hanging on their shoulders.

And after dinner the duke departed from the Tower to Westminster, and rode all the way bare-headed, and

about his neck the order of France. He was accompanied with the prince his son, and six dukes, six earls and eighteen barons, and in all, knights and squires, a nine hundred horse. Then the King had on a short coat of cloth of gold after the manner of Germany, and he was mounted on a white courser, and the garter on his left leg. Thus the duke rode through London with a great number of lords, every lord's servants in their master's livery, all the burgesses and Lombards merchants in London, and every craft with their livery and device. Thus he was conveyed to Westminster. He was in number a six thousand horse, and the streets were decked with hangings as he passed by ; and the same day and the next there were in London running seven conduits with wine, white and red.

That night the duke was bained, and the next morning he was confessed and heard three masses, as he was accustomed to do ; and then all the prelates and clergy came from Westminster church to the palace to fetch the King with procession.

And so he went to the church, and all the lords with him in procession in their robes of scarlet, furred with minever, barred on their shoulders according to their degrees ; and over the King was borne a cloth of state of blue with four bells of gold, and it was borne by four burgesses of the Cinque Ports. And on either side of him he had a sword borne, the one the sword of the church, and the other the sword of justice : the sword of the church his son the prince did bear, and the sword of justice the Constable of England ; and the Earl of Westmoreland, who was Marshal of England, bare the sceptre.

Thus they entered into the church about nine of the clock ; and in the midst of the church there was an high

scaffold all covered with red, and in the midst thereof there was a chair royal covered with cloth of gold. Then the King sat down in that chair, and so sat in state royal, saving he had not on the crown, but sat bareheaded. Then at four corners of the scaffold the Archbishop of Canterbury showed unto the people how God had sent them a man to be their king, and demanded if they were content that he should be consecrated and crowned as their king; and they all with one voice said "Yea," and held up their hands, promising him faith and obeisance.

Then the King rose and went down the scaffold to the high altar to be consecrated, at which consecration there were two archbishops and ten bishops; and before the altar there he was despoiled of all his vestures of state; and there he was anointed in six places, on the head, on the breast, and on the two shoulders behind, and on the hands. Then a bonnet was set on his head, and while he was anointing, the clergy sang the litany and such service as they sing at the hallowing of the font. Then the King was apparelled like a deacon of the church, and they put on him shoes of crimson velvet like a prelate's, and a pair of spurs with a point without a rowel; then the sword of justice was drawn out of the sheath and hallowed, and was taken to the King, who did put it again into the sheath; then the Archbishop of Canterbury did gird the sword about him. Then St Edward's crown was brought forth, and blessed, and the Archbishop did set it on the King's head.

After mass the King departed out of the church in the same estate, and went to his palace; and there was a fountain that ran by divers branches white wine and red. Then the King entered into the hall, and so

into a privy chamber, and after came out again to dinner.

At the first table sat the King, at the second the five peers of the realm, at the third the valiant men of London, at the fourth the new-made knights, at the fifth the knights and squires of honour. And by the King stood the prince holding the sword of the church, and on the other side the constable with the sword of justice, and a little above, the marshal with the sceptre; and at the King's board sat two archbishops and seventeen bishops.

And in the midst of the dinner there came in a knight, who was called Dymoke, all armed upon a good horse richly apparelled, his sword by his side and his dagger, and a knight before him bearing his spear. The knight took the King a writing, the which was read; therein was contained that if there were either knight, squire or any other gentleman that would say that King Henry was not rightful king, he was there ready to fight with him in that quarrel before the King, or whereas it should please him to appoint. That bill was cried by an herald in six places of the hall and in the town. There was none that would challenge him.

When the King had dined, he took wine and spices in the hall, and then went into his chamber; then every man departed and went to their lodgings. Thus the day passed of King Henry's coronation with great joy and feast, which endured all the next day.

Of the death of King Richard of England

It was not long after that tidings ran through London, how Richard of Bordeaux was dead; but how he died and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this

chronicle. But this King Richard dead was laid in a litter and set in a car covered with black, and four horses all black in the car, and two men in black leading the car, and four knights all in black following. Thus the car departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly till they came into Cheapside, where the chief assembly of London was, and there the car rested the space of two hours. Thither came in and out more than twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him where he lay, his head on a black cushion and his visage open. Some had on him pity, and some none, but said he had long ago deserved death.

Now consider well, ye great lords, kings, dukes, earls, barons and prelates, and all men of great lineage and puissance; see and behold how the fortunes of this world are marvellous, and turn diversely. This King Richard reigned King of England two-and-twenty year in great prosperity, holding great state and seignory. There was never before any King of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I, Sir John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, knew it well, for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer, because that in my youth I was clerk and servant to the noble King Edward the Third his grandfather, and with my lady Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England, his grandam; and when I departed from him, it was at Windsor, and at my departing the King sent me by a knight of his a goblet of silver and gilt weighing two mark of silver, and within it a hundred nobles, by the which I am as yet the better, and shall be as long as I live: wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul, and with much sorrow I write of his death.



Thus the Car was brought along through London

Thus when King Richard had lain two hours in the car in Cheapside, then they drave the car forward ; and when the four knights that followed the car afoot were without London, they leapt then on their horses, which were there ready for them, and so they rode till they came to a village called Langley, a thirty mile from London, and there this King Richard was buried. God have mercy on his soul !

